

**TITLE**

**Language Revival**

*The lifecycle of the Cornish Language*

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## Preface

"Murmurous rivers have no sway: it is  
the action of man who snatches  
something from death"

André Malraux

At the moment when language, as spoken and scattered words, becomes an object of knowledge, we see it reappearing in a strictly opposite modality: a silent, cautious deposition of the word upon the whiteness of a piece of paper, where it can possess neither interlocutor, where it has nothing to say but itself, nothing to do but shine in the brightness of its being.

(Foucault 1994, 300).

Extinction is a common enough phenomenon in the history of the world's languages. Linguistic extinction, or "language death", to give it a simpler and more metaphorical name, is to be found underway currently in virtually every part of the world.

Aside from the countless languages, which have already become extinct or currently dying, there are many others that were at one point or another endangered. These include a good few of the now well-established languages of present day Europe.

The "last" Cornish speaker, the legendary Dolly Pentreath of Mousehole, died in 1777 but the formalized concern for Cornish took another century to gear up. We cannot assume, from our own perspective, that there has always existed a great concern for minorities and their languages, nor should we ignore the fact that the upsurge in this concern in the XIX<sup>th</sup> century was intimately connected with other large scale social and political developments.

The question here has to do with revival an attempt to turn a language back to its feet, as a normal means of communication.

The language underpins Cornish identity. It is the most important single distinguishing feature. The language is the most identifying single feature of the Cornish as a distinct cultural, geographical and linguistic group.

Above all, the observations of learners and users of Cornish today emphasised the importance of the language for Cornish identity -not necessarily in a political sense- but in terms of regional development and cultural heritage. For many years it was an important source of self-identity.

It is in this strict sense that language is an analysis of thought: is an analysis of thought: not a patterning, but a profound establishment of order in space. (Foucault 1994, 83)

I consider the Revivalist Movement itself and its persistence to be worthy of study for the very reason that to revive a language that had apparently "died" as a colloquial vernacular around

1800 would appear to be very ambitious. Very few resuscitation movements in modern Europe have been successful.

Surprisingly, there have been no studies of the Cornish language movement and its internal dynamics by historians and social scientists; instead work on it has been dominated by linguists.

The reason for this is what language means to man. "Lastly, because he has a language, he can constitute a whole symbolic universe for himself, within which he has a relation to his past, to things, to other men, and on the basis of which he is able equally to build something like a body of knowledge of himself, of which the human sciences outline one of the possible forms." (Foucault 1994, 351)

A country wants to revive its language for the same reason that other countries honour theirs. Cornish is to Cornwall what Welsh is to Wales or Irish to Ireland.

Each language is a priceless treasure to the people or country it belongs to. On the subject of identity Foucault (1994, 54) writes,

All this was of the greatest consequence to Western thought. Resemblance, which had for long been the fundamental category of knowledge-both the form and the content of what we know-became dissociated in an analysis based on terms of identity and difference....; and lastly, comparison ceased to fulfil the function of revealing how the world is ordered.

With effort, plants and animals can be brought back from the edge of extinction. Languages, too, can be turned around. In fact, they have an advantage over biological species because they can be revived even after they have died. Cornish has made a comeback.

Here, one parallel will be with the few who wish seriously to revive Welsh in Argentinian Patagonia, around Trelew and Puerto Madryn- the failed **GWLADFA** of a tiny minority of Welsh emigrants. They were those who wished to escape the English language which was threatening Welsh everywhere in Britain, United States of America, Australia and many other countries. Of course they did not know that Spanish too was a great language that would easily tempt Welsh by its usefulness and considerable universality, and which was far more useful here.

The southwesterly PENINSULAR location of Cornwall undoubtedly helps to maintain a sense of identity there.

What Foucault points out is that, "the language of a people gives us its vocabulary, and its vocabulary is a sufficiently faithful and authoritative record of all the knowledge of that people". (Foucault 1994, 87).

The fundamental dilemma that almost all the countries in the world face, to varying degrees, is the need to safeguard the past while continuing to build the future, the need to balance the demands of development and culture.

There is a Welsh proverb I have known for as long as I can remember: "Cenedl heb iaith, cenedl heb galon". It means "A nation without a language [is] a nation without a heart".

The Cornish language is growing again among them, in spite of not being supported by the state. The preservation of indigenous cultures and preventing irretrievable loss of diverse and

interesting intellectual wealth, the priceless products of human mental industry, is a task man should not neglect.

But from now on there is an interior 'mechanism' in languages which determines not only each one's individuality but also its resemblances to the others: it is this mechanism, the bearer of identity and difference, the sign of adjacency, the mark of kinship, that is now to become the basis for history (Foucault 1994, 236)



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## 1. Who are the Cornish?

A good sword and a trusty hand!  
A merry heart and true!  
King James's men shall understand  
What Cornish lads can do!

These words belong to *Trelawny*, the Cornish National Anthem. They summarise one of Europe's richest tapestry of people and regions, with a fierce sense of belonging and underpinned by a Celtic history and language and a proud industrial heritage.

Cornwall is an evocative place. A Celtic land with a rich mythology, a land of caves and coves, of cream teas and country lanes. At least that is the image that has long attracted travellers and settlers. Yet, it is also a land that has, over the last century, faced dramatic social and economic changes: the decline of the traditional fishing, tin and clay industries and the growth of tourism.

Cornwall is an area of land that covers the south-western tip of England. Its wild rocky coastline has been an inspiration to writers as diverse as Alfred Lord Tennyson, Virginia Woolf and Daphne du Maurier.

Cornwall is "pre-eminently the region of dream and mystery" wrote the great Victorian novelist and poet Thomas Hardy in 1870, describing his first experience in Cornwall. Even today this mystical land continues to exert a strange influence even over those who come to visit its secret and sacred places, to marvel at the breathtakingly beautiful coastline or simply to bask on its sun-drenched beaches.

You are never more than twenty miles from the sea in Cornwall and never more than a short walk from antiquity.

Kernow (Cornwall) occupies a peninsula bounded on the North and West by the Atlantic Ocean and on the South by the English Channel. At the Southwest point up the county is the Cape of Land's End, Westernmost point of the English mainland. The Scilly Isles off Land's End are part of the County. Much of the land, especially in the East is high windswept moorland, which decreases in elevation towards the West. The deeply indented coasts of Cornwall, with their fine harbours, are lined with rocky cliffs. The county has a mild, moist climate, and in the South lush vegetation prevails. Industry is limited to the larger towns, such as Falmouth and Penzance.

Cornwall is an easy place to tour, provided you do not mind doing the best of it slowly, on roads that started life as tracks for animals and never really got much further.

They twist and turn in seemingly never ending lanes around the shore and through the rural hinterland. The distance from London is some 250 miles. At high tide, the beaches are cordoned off by high, steep cliffs, but when the tide is out, they interconnect to reveal mile upon mile of sandy cricket pitch.

There is a saying among linguists: 'a language is a dialect with an army and a navy'. (Petyt 1980, 75). What this means in practice is that a speech community defines itself from the inside. This definition is in opposition to neighbouring groups which are excluded by not being part of the same culture and not participating in the same customs, practices and rituals; by not sharing the same "collective fantasy", whose institutions and world view are encoded in the very language.

people speak. Cornwall does have a growing sense of identity bond up with its Celtic language and she has always regarded people beyond the Tamar as foreigners.

If language exists, it is because below the level of identities and differences there is the foundation provided by continuities, resemblances, repetitions, and natural criss-crossings (Foucault 1994, 120)

For many Cornishmen and women today the use and cultivation of the language is closely bound up with national identity and the search for greater control over their own affairs.

In a global perspective, it may be seen alongside as a response to man-culture and increasing globalization. The language is also shown in the place names, which are 90 percent Celtic-derived, Cornish language. Foucault (1994, 160) stresses this point,

Things and words are very strictly interwoven: nature is posited only through the grid of denominations, and though without such names it would remain mute and invisible-it glimmers far off beyond them. Continuously present on the far side of this grid, which nevertheless presents it to our knowledge and renders it visible only when wholly spanned by language.

In that respect, culturally and linguistically, it is a distinct area and, it is fairly clear that the River Tamar (which separates Cornwall from the neighbouring county of Devon) is one of the most marked cultural boundaries in Europe, from the place name ANGL.

Cornwall is technically an English county with a population of 470,000. It is somewhat isolated from the rest of Britain, and many Cornish people consider themselves to be a part of a separate nation. Some of them actively campaign for independence.

There are a lot of small nations within Europe. There are areas such as Luxembourg which have six MP's within the European parliament, who have a smaller land area, a smaller population than Cornwall. It has to do with the right of small nations to self-determination.

"I am always sorry when any language is lost, because languages are the pedigree of nations", said the eighteenth century lexicographer Samuel Johnson (Boswell 1985, 310). By recovering and re-investigating their language, the Cornish are reconverting themselves to the roots of their family ties and branching out towards new horizons. Foucault (1994, 87) tells us,

The sciences are well-made languages, just as languages are sciences lying fallow. All languages must therefore be renewed; in other words, explained and judged according to that analytic order which none of them now follows exactly.

Cornwall is technically not a country at all. Constitutionally it is merely a county of England. The Cornish, nonetheless have always felt themselves different from the rest of England. They remained Catholic longer than much of England at the Reformation, then they supported the King during the Civil War when much of England was pro-Parliament. Cornwall was until recently almost entirely Non-Conformist (Methodist) in religion and was thus different from Anglican England. Most of all, of course, the Cornish until the XVI<sup>th</sup> and XVII<sup>th</sup> centuries had their own language. Cornish now survives in the toponymy of Cornwall, which is quite unlike that of the rest of England. The intonation of Cornish English is distinctive and probably reflects the intonation of Cornish. Foucault (1994, 87) stresses this point,

The language of a people gives us its vocabulary, and its vocabulary is a sufficiently faithful and authoritative record of all the knowledge of that people; simply by comparing the different states of a nation's vocabulary at different times one could form an idea of its progress.

Cornish words survive even today in Cornu-English. The revival of Cornish began in 1904 when Henry Jenner, a Catholic Cornishman, had visions of reintegrating Cornwall culturally with Brittany and the rest of the Continental Europe. This religious aspect of the revival did not continue, though relations with Brittany have remained close. The revival was a minority interest but by the nineteen seventies it was beginning to gain considerable momentum. This was for particular reasons. Cornwall is warmer than the rest of the island of Britain and many English people retire to Cornwall. Moreover, greater mobility meant that in the period since the Second World War, many from England have come to Cornwall as teachers, administrators, business people and so on.

The situation is now that native-born Cornish are outnumbered by people from further afield (i. e. from England proper). The influx of newcomers led many Cornish people to look for some kind of badge or sign of their distinctive Cornish identity, which for most of them is the Cornish language. The same quest for a Cornish identity has led to a revival in Cornish folk music, the revival of the Cornish bagpipes, the invention of the black Cornish kilt and several other ethnically significant practices and activities, Cornish wrestling and Cornish dancing, for example.

Lady Mendell of Babergh, member of the House of Lords comments. "Cornwall has a romantic appeal which seems to me to reflect its claim not to be part of England at all." (Jackson 2001, 5).

Cornwall with its language and the fact that it is a promontory, is very akin to Wales in its rights to devolution. Many members of different families come from Cornwall and many live still there.

The Prince of Wales referred to it not as a county but as a country, for it has many distinct features, which set it apart from the rest of Great Britain.

Despite Cornwall being the first of the modern Celtic nations to use its Celtic language, their language has made a dramatic rebirth during the XX<sup>th</sup> century, particularly in the last thirty years or so. More significantly, for the first time in several centuries they now have small groups of children and young people in Cornwall who are speaking Cornish as their first language -giving great hope for the future-.

The Cornish consider themselves Cornish. They are not English in any way. They happen to speak the language, but then so do many countless millions throughout the world.

There is a growing number who are now feeling this renewed sense of identity. It is a very unusual and wonderful thing because it springs from an ancient culture, an ancient way of life, which threatens nobody, and "so lose your identity is to lose a part of your personality".



## 2. Language means Culture

The BBC world service offers an interesting site called *THINK OF ENGLAND* where people discuss and give their opinion on several subjects. Once the subject of Cornwall was raised and here I selected some interesting views:

In Cornwall the English tells us that we are English. This is clearly not true. Cornwall is historically a Celtic nation in its own right. Cornish people are not English. They are Cornish.

The 1508 Charter of Pardon gives the Cornish people the constitutional right to convene their own parliament. The Cornish Stannary Parliament has the power to veto any Westminster Act. No Westminster law can become law in Cornwall without the consent of the Cornish Stannary Parliament. This is British Constitutional law. Why are the Cornish denied their own rights?

Our precious Cornish sites are 4,500 years old, thousands of years before the English invades these islands, how on earth can Cornish ancient sites be described as English?

Language is a wonderful tool for communicating but it is also a great tool for isolating. If someone does not speak your language, they are obviously not part of your group. I think this is why there are so many languages in the first place. Language is also an effective carrier of culture.

The fundamental codes of culture—those governing its language, its schemas of perception, its exchanges, its techniques, its values, the hierarchy of its practices—establish for every man, from the very first, the empirical orders with which he will be dealing and within which he will be at home. (Foucault 1994, XX)

While the two are separate, it is much easier to maintain a culture with its language than without it (it is also possible but difficult to keep the language but lose the culture). At stake is the world's cultural heritage,

Languages are the most complex products of human mind, each differing enormously in its sound, structure and pattern of thought.... Each language is indissoluble tied up with a unique culture, literature (whether written or not), and worldview, all of which represent the endpoint of thousands of years of human inventiveness". (Diamond 1993, 84)

Diamond considers that languages are "not equivalent or interchangeable".

Modern societies should not erase their own traces. That makes the preservation of the world heritage a duty owed to memory. On the subject of language Foucault (1994, 204) writes,

The four moments that define the essential functions of language (attribution, articulation, designation, derivation) are solidly linked to one another, since they require one another as soon as, with the advent of the verb, one has crossed the threshold beyond which language exists



We should not be confused and weaken our own appreciation of our cultural diversity.

The concept of non-material heritage there merges into that of culture as the whole complex of spiritual, material intellectual and emotional features that characterise a society or social group. Foucault (1994, 78) outlines as follows,

Pre-eminent, because words have been allotted the task and the power of 'representing thought'.... Representing must be understood in the strict sense: language represents thought as thought represents itself.

It includes the arts and the letters but also ways of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs. And the language:

All countries, whether democratic or not, are feeling this increasingly powerful concern for their cultural prosperity, the only differences being in rates of progress, in degrees of urgency and in the vocabulary employed.

(Fabrizio 1997, 13)

Moreover, the loss of a language means a loss of inherited knowledge that extends over hundreds or thousands of years. As human beings have spread around the world, adapting to different environments, the experienced generations have been retained chiefly through the medium of language. As Foucault (1994, 317) points out,

Modern thought, then, will contest even its own metaphysical impulses, and show that reflections upon life, labour, and language, in so far as they have value as analytics of finitude, express the end of metaphysics: the philosophy of life denounces metaphysics as a veil of illusion, that of labour denounces it as an alienated form of thought and an ideology, that of language as a cultural episode.

The influence of certain semantic differences may be so strong that it leads to languages to interpret reality in very different ways, that may be described as either event-dominated or object dominated. (Mühlhäusler 1999: 17)

Languages, finally, differ according to the metaphors their speakers live but western way of life tends to be dominated by metaphors. And language exists in the gap that representation creates for itself (Foucault 1994, 78).

Mühlhäusler (1999:20) quotes the saying "time is money" that

... reinforces cultural practices such as charging by the hour, trying to save money by getting thing done more quickly and the view that there are more economical and less economical uses of time

The concept of culture is a very frizzy concept to define, specially when speaking about culture. We have to deal with anthropology, cultural studies, linguistics, sociology and social psychology.

John Corbetts (1999, 2) casts light on the subject,

As I understand "culture" is first of all a mental phenomenon: its basis is a variable set of normative beliefs, values and attitudes, which are shared by certain groups. This socially-shared set of beliefs and values generates certain types of behaviour—including all sorts of linguistic behaviour, from having a chat to writing a poem ... a long narrative poem might call upon its readers to identify themselves as members of a national community.

What is then what linguists consider communicate competence?

Communicate competence does not consist entirely in bridging an information gap using language appropriate to the situation: it consists also in performing linguistic 'acts of identity' which show that the individual is affiliating to or disaffiliating from the values of the group with which she/he is communicating. (Corbetts 1999, 2)

Culture permeates every aspect of communication. When we communicate, our linguistic behaviour is an art of affiliation to, or reflection of a cultural group.

I am concerned to show its developments, since the sixteenth century, in the mainstream of a culture such as ours: in what way, as one traces—against the current, as it were—language as it has been spoken, natural creatures as they have been perceived and grouped together, and exchanges as they have been practised (Foucault 1994, XXI).

Culture and language need each other. Language does not exist without a cultural context, and the other way around.

Wout de Jong (1999, 16) defines the question of culture, too,

Sociologists generally describe cultural differences in terms of symbols, heroes and rituals. Of course, not every speaker of a particular language will accept the same symbols, heroes and rituals as part of their culture: they may recognize them as being part of the culture of a particular group within the society of which they are part.

On the other side of the coin we find another perspective of the question of culture linked with language,

The view that 'people cannot save their culture without their language' is one such overstatement, given that so many communities demonstrate a living ethnicity despite the fact that most of its members have lost or never learned the language. One of the most heated controversies in contemporary Wales, for example, is whether one can be Welsh if one does not speak Welsh. (Block and Trager 1942, 39)

Language unifies everything linking environmental practice with cultural knowledge, and transmitting everything synchronically among the members of a community, as well as diachronically between generations.

Thus, in every culture, between the use of what one might call the ordering codes and reflections upon order itself, there is the pure experience of order and its modes of being. (Foucault 1994, XXI)

Crystal (2002, 54) adds,

The aim of linguistics is to define the nature of the human language faculty, comprehensively and explicitly ... each language manifests a fresh-coming together of sounds, grammar and vocabulary to form a system of communication ... it is an unprecedented event and a unique encapsulation of a world view.

Nancy Dorian, who has been studying the decline of Scottish Gaelic, gives several hints on how language, ethnicity and 'cultural badge' influence a community,

Culture is multifaceted, containing thousands of elements, many of which have nothing directly to do with language, belonging to such domains as clothing, hairstyle, food, dance, crafts and visual arts ... They see language as just one of the badges available to them ... language is widely acknowledged as the behaviour, with the greatest potential to act as a badge ... Culture does not to a complete stop, when any one of its elements changes or ceases to exist, even when that is language. (Crystal 2002, 121)

When we speak about language, we also speak about a way of thinking. Words do construct a specific reality. A language is a specific "vision of the world". "Language is the original form of all reflection, the primary thing of any critique" (Foucault 1994, 84)

When we are dealing with issues of cultural distinctiveness of a community's character, insofar as they are transmitted through language, these emotions are inheritance. Character is the result of inheritance. As Thomas Mann remarked 'we should know how to inherit, because inheriting is culture'. But to know what it is that we inherit, we need language" (Crystal 2002, 38)

Foucault (1994, 99) once again stresses this point,

There must be prepositions and conjunctions, there must be syntactical signs indicating the relations of identity or agreement, and those of dependence or case ... and, finally, there must be words relating common nouns to the individuals they designate.

This leads us to the next subject: identity.

### 3. Language means identity

Like the visual tip of a cone in which all the difference, all dispersions, all discontinuities would be knitted together as to form no more than a single point of identity, the impalpable figure of the same, yet possessing the power, nevertheless, to burst open upon itself and becomes Other. (Foucault 1994, 329-330)

While we analyse the roots of Cornish, we get to the conclusion that the various Celtic tribes were bound together by common speech, customs and religion rather than by any well-defined central government.

Their economy was pastoral and agricultural and they had no real urban life. Another aspect that is mentioned often about the Celts is their strong bonds with the land they lived on and their pride in it. This too adds a sense of belonging. It was and still is customary for anyone travelling away from home to take a piece of their home, soil with them, to ensure their safe return.

David Crystal (1997, 2) writes about the sense of belonging connected to language.

No part of society or social behaviour is exempt; linguistic factors influence our judgements of personality, intelligence, social status, educational standards, job aptitude, and many other areas of identity and social survival. As a result, it is easy to hurt, and to be hurt, when language use is unfeelingly attacked.

On the social aspect of language Saussure (2002, 184) adds,

- (3) Language has an individual aspect and a social aspect. One is not conceivable without the other. Furthermore:
- (4) Language at any given time involves an established system and evolution. At any given time, it is an institution in the present and a product of the past.

The use of language can tell a great deal about regional origins, social background, level of education, occupation and several other data of the user. Crystal summarises perfectly well: "... that a major function of language is the expression of personal identity the signalling of who we are and where we 'belong'" (1997, 13)

The promontory people of Cornwall '(territory of) Britons of *Cornovii* know more than anything else, that language shows they 'belong', the most natural badge, symbol of identity.

Comparison, then, can attain to perfect certainty: the old system of similitudes, never complete and always open to fresh possibilities, could, it is true, through successive confirmations, achieve steadily increasing probability... complete enumeration, and the possibility of assigning at each point the necessary connection with the next, permit an absolutely certain knowledge of identities and differences (Foucault 1994, 55)

Crow (1997, 3-4) adds to the subject of identity that,

The dominant language cannot give people a sense of their pedigree. Only the dominated language can refresh the identity of an indigenous community the part that other languages cannot reach.

The fight to preserve the smaller cultures and languages may turn out to be the struggle the most precious things that make us human.

The structure of a language is a social product of our language faculty. At the same time, it is also a body of necessary conventions adopted by society to use their language faculty. (Saussure 2002, 9-10)

Nancy Dorian (1987, 3) provides a real example of how identity and language are closely tied as follows,

I found that when I asked speakers of Scottish Gaelic whether a knowledge of Gaelic was necessary to 'bring the true Highlander', they said it was; when I asked people of Highland birth and ancestry who did not speak Gaelic the same question, they it wasn't.

Saussure (2002, 21) remarks,

Colonisation, which is simply one form of conquest, transports a language into new environments, and this brings changes in the language.... The internal politics of a country is of no less importance for the life of a language. The governments of certain countries, such as Switzerland, allow the coexistence of several languages.... Advanced stages of civilisation favour the development, of certain special languages (legal language) scientific terminology, etc.

I have already mentioned the fact that a community is heavily dependent on language for interpreting its behaviour. To make sense of a community identity, we need to look at its language.

As Foucault (1994, 57) has pointed out,

This relation to Order is as essential to the Classical age as the relation to Interpretation was to the Renaissance. And just as interpretation in the sixteenth century, with its superimposition of a semiology upon a hermeneutics, was essentially a knowledge based upon similitude, so the ordering of things by means of signs constitutes knowledge based upon identity and difference.

David Crystal (2002, 39-40) remarks,

Identity is what makes the members of a community recognisably the same. It is a summation of the characteristics which make it what it is and not something else - of 'us' vs 'them'. ... they relate to local customs (such as dress), beliefs, rituals, and the whole panoply of personal behaviours. And of all behaviours, language is the most ubiquitous.

Foucault (1994, 386) outlines as follows,

In fact, among all the mutations that have affected knowledge of things and their order, the knowledge of identities, differences, characters, equivalences, words-in short, in the midst of all the episodes of that profound history of the SAME- only one, that which began a century and a half ago and is now perhaps drawing to a close, has made it possible for the figure of man to appear.

'A language is the emblem of its speakers', says Dixon. 'Language is a skin, says Barthes.' I rub my language against another language'. (Crystal 2002, 40)

John Edwards (1995,5) comments on ethnicity as a "sense of group identity". This can be perceived as common bonds such as language, race or religion.

Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group -large or small, socially dominant or subordinate with which one has ancestral links ... but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc.).

From one end of experience to the other, finitude answers itself; it is the identity and the difference of the positivities, and of the foundation, within the figure of the SAME. It is apparent how modern reflection, as soon as the first shoot of this analytic appears, by-passes the display of representation, together with its culmination in the form of a table as ordered by Classical knowledge, and moves towards a certain thought of the SAME- in which Difference is the same thing as Identity. (Foucault 1994, 315)

Now I would like to quote famous sayings that may underline the value of the subject I am dealing with:

**"A people without its language is a people without its soul" (Douglas 1980, 4)**

**"Without Breton there is no Brittany" (Friedrich von Schlegel, 1815)**

The same author believes that "the care of the National Language is at all times a sacred trust".

**"I had to make a choice between political freedom without the language (Irish) and the language without a political freedom ... I would choose the latter". (De Valera 1980, 6)**

Foucault (1994, 35) writes,

Language partakes in the world- wide dissemination of similitudes and signatures. It must, therefore, be studied itself as a thing in nature. Like a animals, plants, or stars, its elements have their laws of affinity and convenience, their necessary analogies.

Jean Aitchison (1996, 16) reflects on the value of language. It is not simply a means whereby people convey their reasoning and knowledge. There is something stronger underneath:

The language is the heart of the country. There is an old proverb in this country: **A man without his language has lost his land.**

The propositional form posits as a condition of language the affirmation of a relation of identity or difference: we can speak only in so far as this relation is possible.... If everything were absolute diversity thought would be doomed to singularity, and like Condillac's statue before it began to remember and make comparisons, it would be doomed also to absolute dispersion and absolute monotony (Foucault 1994, 119)

We might like to consider the revival of Hebrew, which is now the national language of Israel. The reasons for Cornwall to revive her language are similar. It does not serve to help trade with other nations, it was not necessary; it is a matter of identity and one of pride.

On the one side, we shall find the signs that have become tools of analysis, marks of identity and difference, principles whereby things can be reduced to order, keys for a taxonomy; and, on the other, the empirical and murmuring resemblance of things, that unreacting similitude that lies beneath thought and furnishes the infinite raw material for divisions and distributions (Foucault 1994, 58)

We have never had a language riot. We have known race riots, draft riots, labour violence, secession, anti-war protests, and a whiskey rebellion, but one of trouble we have never had: language riot. The very idea of language as a political force, as something that might "threaten" to split a country wide-apart -is alien to our way of thinking and to our cultural traditions.

And so it remains today. In much of the world, ethnic unity and cultural identification are routinely defined by language.

To be Arab is to speak Arabic. Bengali identity is based on language in spite of the division of Bengali speakers between Hindu India and Muslim Bangladesh.

Language is a symbol, an icon.

This kind of knowledge involves the allotting of a sign to all that our representation can present us with: perceptions, thoughts, desires; these signs must have a value as characters, that is, they must articulate the representation as a whole into distinct subregions, all separated from one another by assignable characteristics; in this way they authorize establishment of a simultaneous system according to which the representations express their proximity and their distance, their adjacency and their separateness- and therefore the network, which, outside chronology, makes patent their kinship and reinstates their relations of order within a permanent area. In this manner the table of identities and differences may be drawn up. (Foucault 1994, 73)

Language, as one linguist has said, is "not primarily a means of communication but a means of communion".

Romanticism exalted language, made it mystical, sublime -a bond of national identity.

Superficially, one might say that knowledge of man, unlike the sciences of nature,

is always linked, even its vaguest form, to ethics or politics; more fundamentally, modern thought is advancing towards that region where man's order must become the Same as himself (Foucault 1994, 328)



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#### 4. Competition between a common language and linguistic diversity

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the peculiar existence and ancient solidity of language as a thing inscribed in the fabric of the world were dissolved in the functioning of representation; all language had value only as discourse. The art of language was a way of making sign- of simultaneously dignifying something and arranging signs around that thing (Foucault 1994, 43)

Do we need a common language to understand each other? Do we need to conduct commerce and to get along in peace with a common language only?

But in the real genesis of actual languages, the process does not take place either in the same direction or with the same rigour: on the basis of primitive designations, men's imaginations (according to the climates they live in, the conditions of their existence, their feelings and their passions, their experiences) give rise to derivations which differ from people to people, and which doubtless explain, in addition to the diversity of languages, the relative instability of each of them (Foucault 1994, 204)

It is interesting to see that the countries most advanced technologically are ones with few languages.

Diamond (1993, 378-79) explains,

Multiple languages are just an impediment to communication and progress ... Different people need some common languages to understand each other. But that does not require eliminating minority languages, it only requires bilingualism.

On the other hand Foucault( 1994, 233) remarks,

Hence those great confrontations between various languages that we see appearing at the end of the century-in some cases brought about by the pressure of political motives.

When dealing with the question on multilingualism we have to consider also the question of bilingualism.

Languages differing only slightly are called DIALECTS but this term is not to be given a rigorously exact interpretation. Between dialects and languages there is a difference of quantity, not of nature. (Saussure 2002, 191)

Denmark is one of the wealthiest countries in the world. Danes have no problem doing business profitably with other countries, even though practically no one except the five million Danes speak Danish. That is because almost all Danes also speak English, (and many speak other foreign languages as well). Still Danes have no thought of abandoning their tongue,

The identity here is total and a matter of nature: the proposition is a representation; it is articulated according to the same modes of representation; but it possesses the power to articulate the representation it transforms into discourse in more than one way. It is, in itself, a representation providing the articulation for another, with a possibility of displacement that constitutes at the same time the freedom of discourse and the differences between languages (Foucault 1994, 99)

Diamond 1993, 82) puts forward another point of view on the subject,

The Danish language, combined with polylingualism, remains indispensable to Danes being happily Danish... but remember that bilingualism is practised especially by minority language speakers, who learn majority languages.

Given that people differ in language, religion and ethnicity, the only alternative to tyranny is for people to learn to live together in mutual respect and tolerance. For example, we have three languages living together in Finland (Finnish, Swedish and Lapp) four in Switzerland (German, French, Italian and Romansh) and nearly a thousand in Papua New Guinea.

I think one often overlooks the potentially huge impact on the world that the spread of English is exerting. It is gradually converting all those largely monolingual countries (especially in Europe) into bilingual and multilingual ones. English is spreading from the North of Europe to the South, leaving Ireland and the United Kingdom as the least multilingual of all the countries in the European Union.

Sweden and Switzerland offer a very good example, where the dominant culture respects the identities and rights of its linguistic minorities and provides educational opportunities for speakers. They serve as example for the United Nations, UNESCO, the Council of Europe, and the European Parliament as they act to preserve minority language use.

In the biblical story of the Tower of Babel, the descendants of Noah tried to build a tower leading to heaven, but God frowned on their presumption and sabotaged the common language that enabled them to communicate. This story, which portrays linguistic diversity as a divine punishment, has dominated Western thinking about languages for centuries and as a result many people believe that a multiplicity of languages is undesirable.

It is parochialism which accounts for why a linguistic community remains faithful to the traditions it has nurtured. These habits are the ones every individual first acquires as a child: hence their strength and persistence. If they acted alone, they would give rise to endless linguistic diversity (Saussure 2002, 204)

Is linguistic diversity a problem?

I believe, on the other hand, that linguistic diversity should not be seen as a problem but as an essential resource and there is an urgent need to reverse policies and practices that currently threaten thousands of small languages (Mühlhäusler 1994, 17)

If we regard each language as the result of a long history of human endeavour to gain knowledge of the world, we may begin to see why linguistic diversity is an invaluable resource rather than an obstacle to progress.

Different languages communicate different perceptions of reality ... These include differences in vocabulary, differences in the grammatical information that is expressed and differences in the boundary between what is regarded as literal truth and what is regarded (Mühlhäusler 1994, 18)

Saussure (2002,225) underlines the fact that,

Even if a language offers little precise, authentic information about the customs and institutions of its users, does it nevertheless indicate the mental type to which that community belongs? It is quite commonly held that a language reflects the psychology of a nation.

The question of differences is based in kinship. Anthropological linguists have accumulated evidence on how language families differ. 'Languages are related to and distinguished from one another according to a table of possible types of word order.' (Foucault 1994, 90)

While in English, the word "sister" refers to the female sibling of both males and females, in Tok Pisin of Papua New Guinea, a pidgin language that often reflects a Melanesian interpretation of the world, the "word" sister means sibling of the opposite sex. A brother calls his sister "sister" and a girl calls her brother "sister". (Mühlhäusler 1994, 20)

Moreover, he analyses what the fate of indigenous and minority languages could be if Western languages "take over"

The rather impoverished inventory of words in most modern western languages may not be sufficient to sustain complex extended family networks, and the replacement of an indigenous language with more distinctions by a Western language with fewer distinctions could be a factor in the breakdown of traditional societies (Mühlhäusler 1994, 20)

Foucault (1994, 283) casts light on the subject,

But the material unity constituted by the arrangement of sounds, syllables, and words is not governed by the mere combination of the element of representation. It has its own principles, which differ from language to language: grammatical composition has regularities which are not transparent to the signification of the discourse.

The author gives us a clear example of differences in the use of words and semantic connotation:

The German word Gemütlich Koit does not compare neatly with the English word "cosiness"; nor is "depression", the same as the outmoded "melancholy". The absence of words for depression or sadness in certain Polynesian languages would seem to correspond to the absence of the associated phenomena (Mühlhäusler 1994, 20)

So why should we care? Western languages when speaking about the land, make a distinction between human beings and the non-human world. The idea seems to be that human beings are a privileged species:

In Barrai, a language of Papua New Guinea, it is very interesting to see how they express the notion of "my land" ... one uses the pronoun for mutual control suggesting interdependence, the need for balance and co-operation between people and the land (Mühlhäusler 1994, 20)

On this subject Foucault (1994, 85) explains, 'In so far as language can represent all representations it is with good reason the element of the universal.'

These examples given by the aforementioned writer show how many different interpretations- and many different languages -are necessary to solve the problem facing the world.

What is the peculiar property possessed by language and not by any other system of signs?... As its primary root, language is made up, as Hobbes says, of a systems of notations that individuals first chose for themselves, by means of these marks they are able to recall representations, link them together, dissociate them, and operate them, and operate upon them. (Foucault 1994, 81-82)

George Orwell was quite right when he wrote this in *Animal Farm*. Human beings differ in only minor respects from each other. We, genetically and physically, apparently about ten genes, out of some 80,000 so far identified, account for differences in skin colour, eye shape and other physical features,

Thus we see glowing into life the luminous element in which language and learning, universal language and analysis of thought, the history of mankind and the sciences of language freely communicate (Foucault 1994, 88)

Crystal (2002, 33)'s definition applies,

If diversity is a prerequisite for successful humanity, then the preservation of linguistic diversity is essential, for language lies at the heart of what means to be human.

If the development of multiple cultures is so important, then the role of languages becomes critical. for cultures are transmitted through languages.

Moreover, since signification can be transformed, practically unimpaired, from one language to another, it is these regularities that will make it possible to define the individuality of a language (Foucault 1994, 283)

Crow (1997, 4) insists on the multiplicity of languages,

For bilingual (or multilingual) individuals, there is the permanent availability of two (or more) hugely different perspectives on large areas of life. And even monolingual people are historically multilingual, in the sense that their language will contain loan-words reflecting the history of its contact with other cultures.

What is language in essence? Foucault (1994, 289) tells us,

Bopp's analyses were to be of major importance, not only in breaking down the internal composition of a language, but also in defining what language may be in essence. It is no longer a system of representation which has the power to pattern and recompose other representations; it designates in its roots the most constant of actions, states and wishes

The opinion that languages other than our own provide us with means of personal growth, as human beings, is a recurrent topic in literature.

From Slovakia: "With each newly learned language you acquire a new soul".  
From France: "A man who knows two languages is worth two men". Emerson takes up this theme: "As many languages he has, as many friends, as many arts and trades, so many times is he a man" (Crystal 2002, 44)

It is sometimes neglected just how linguistically diverse certain parts of the world are. Europe is not the exception. Indo-European for example, with Germanic, Celtic, Romance, Slavic has only a dozen families. By contrast there are over fifty families in North America and twice as many in South America.

Crystal (2002, 66) emphasises the idea that truth also will be unattained if a world would have only one language,

There are also many people who maintain a belief in human equality who 'condemn' discrimination who are worried by the global trend towards standardisation ... They know that growth in their depth of perception about those who think and act in a different way. They would accept Hamlet's accusation: 'There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio / Than are dreamt of in your philosophy' (I.V. 166).

As Foucault (1994, 386) has pointed out,

Ought we not admit that, since language is here once more, man will return to that serene non-existence which he was a figure occurring between two modes of language; or, rather, he was constituted only when language, having been situated within representation and, as it were, dissolved in it, freed itself from that situation at the cost of its fragmentation: man composed his own figure in the interstices of that fragmented language.

Eco's (1977, 11-12) comment applies very well here,

Keeping, as we decided, strictly to Europe the Classical Greeks knew of peoples speaking languages other than theirs: they called these peoples BARBAROI, beings who mumble in an incomprehensible speech ... however, not knowing Greek, barbarians had no notion of the connection between the Greek sound and the particular idea. Linguistically and culturally speaking, they were unworthy of any attention.

The following, written specifically about what we are dealing about, seems to me a fair and reasonable statement,

In the Classical period, what was denoted by the term universal language was not the primitive, pure, and unimpaired speech that would be able if it were rediscovered beyond the punishment of oblivion, to restore the understanding that reigned before Babel. It refers to a tongue that would have the ability to provide every representation, and every element of every representation, with the sign by which it could be marked in a univocal manner (Foucault 1994, 84)

While the Greek **Koiné** continued to dominate the Mediterranean basin, Latin was becoming the language of the empire and thus the universal language for all parts of Europe reached the Roman legions.

Later it became the language of the Roman Church. Eco (1997, 338-339) stresses the fact that once again, a civilisation with a common language was not troubled by the plurality of tongues.

The natural differentiation of languages has become a positive phenomenon underlying the allocation of peoples their respective territories, the birth of nations and the emergence of the sense of national identity. It is a reversal of meaning that reflects the patriotic pride of an 18<sup>th</sup> century French author: The CONFUSIO LINGUARUM was the historically necessary point of departure for the birth of a new sense of the state.

Pluche, in effect, seems to be paraphrasing Louis XIV: *'L'état c'est la langue'*.

Only a quarter of all states recognise more than one language.

At once characteristic and combinative, the universal language would also, by that very fact, be able to accommodate itself to all possible orders. At once characteristic and combinative, the universal language does not re-establish the order of days gone by: it invents signs, a syntax, and a grammar, in which all conceivable order must find its place (Foucault 1994, 84)

Edwards (1995, 15) outlines his point of view as follows,

Many linguists and others, of course, have felt that linguistic diversity is not a punishment but rather a vital component of human life, and if we go further back than Babel we may find some support for this. The famous injunction, once the flood had receded, to be fruitful and multiply, has interpreted as including linguistic diversification; that is, Noah's descendants were commanded to develop new languages.

Edwards (1995, 83) makes the following statement,

There are important differences between individual bilingualism and collective or social bilingualism, regardless of whether the latter is officially endorsed (as in Canada) or simply a fact of ordinary life (as in Taiwan where Mandarin is official but where most speak Fukienese as a mother tongue).

On this subject Foucault (1994, 849) writes,

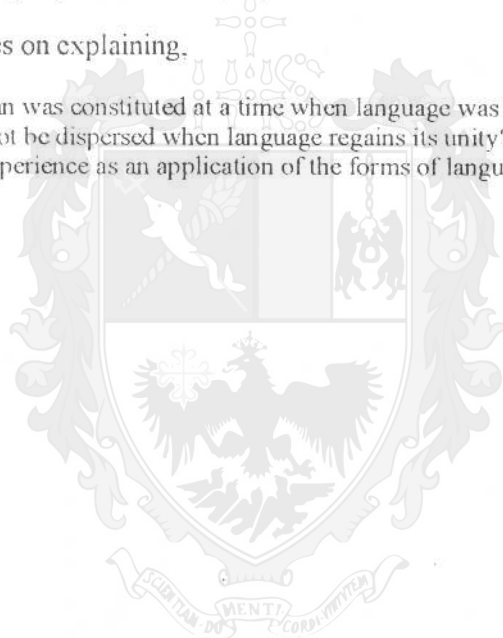
As for universal discourse, that too is by no means the unique text that preserves in the cipher of its secret the key to unlock all knowledge.

In Paraguay, for example, not only are most of the people bilingual in Spanish and Guaraní, but the two languages are functionally separated.

This universal language traverses the whole field of knowledge, though as it were in a subterranean manner, in order to reveal, on the basis of representation, the possibility of that knowledge, to reveal its origin, and its natural, linear and universal link. This common denominator, this foundation underlying all knowledge, this origin expressed in a continuous discourse is Ideology, a language that duplicates the spontaneous thread of knowledge along the whole of its length. (Foucault 1994, 85)

Foucault (1994, 386) goes on explaining,

Since man was constituted at a time when language was doomed to dispersion, will he not be dispersed when language regains its unity?....to interpret our actual experience as an application of the forms of language to the human order?



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## 5. Language Loyalty and Heritage

Having become a dense and consistent historical reality, language forms the locus of tradition, of the unspoken habits of thought, of what lies hidden in a people's mind, it accumulates an ineluctable memory which does not even know itself as memory. Expressing their thoughts in words of which they are not the masters, enclosing them in verbal forms whose historical dimensions they are unaware of, men believe that their speech is their servant and do not realize that they are submitting themselves to its demands. (Foucault 1994, 297)

The French give us a concept discerned within the overall evolution of heritage,

In the French language the very word for 'heritage' -PATRIMOINE- contains within itself, for better or worse, the word PATRIE – "homeland" (Diamond 1993, 10)

The task of preserving and enhancing the heritage of our ancestors extends far beyond the simple preservation of marvellous monuments and sublime works of art.

In the words of the Spanish scholar and writer Miguel de Unamuno; 'memory is the basis of the individual personality as tradition is the basis of the collective personality of people. We live in memory and through memory, and our spiritual life is, in the last resort, nothing more than the effort of remembrance to persevere, to become hope, the effort of our past to become future' (Mayor 1993, 42-43)

The desire to be different, to recover what has been lost, and to ignore the normal pressures of everyday life for a high ideal is human and understandable.

For, in the treasure handed down to us by Antiquity, the value of language lay in the fact that it was the sign of things. There is no difference between the visible marks that God has stamped upon the surface of the earth, so that we may know its inner secrets, and the legible words that the Scriptures or the sages of Antiquity, have set down in the books preserved for us by tradition (Foucault 1994, 33)

I am inclined to find it simply realistic, and to continue that an un-admirable materialistic and utilitarian model does not generally prevail in the study of human affairs.

The reasons for wishing to revive or learn a dying language (or dead) are social - psychological. The reasons for failing to do so are severely practical, usually centring on the difficulties encountered, time required, and above all on one's everyday PRIORITIES: what are the other demands on our limited time, and what is the rank-order of those demands.

We cannot fill our time more than full and we do not have sufficient time to achieve all our many conflicting ambitions.

Languages are not in themselves more or less powerful. People do not adopt them because they are more precise.

People sometimes talk of 'the beauty of Italian' or of the 'German's authority', as if such characteristics might make a language more or less influential... They gain ascendancy when their speakers gain power. (Mayor 1993, 43)



'Language is the spiritual exaltation of a nation', said Humboldt (Edwards 1995, 5)

People do not fight and die, as they have done in India, to preserve a set of symbols. They do so because they feel that their identity is at-stake- that language preservation is a question of human rights, community status and nationhood....Language nationalists see their language as a treasure house, as a repository of memories (Crystal 1997, 1)

As Foucault( 1994, 200) has pointed out,

But though membership of a social group can always explain why such and such a person chose one system of thought rather another, the condition enabling that system to be thought rather another, the condition enabling that system to be thought never resides in the existence of the group.

There is barely a society without its major narratives, told, retold, and varied formulas, texts, ritualized texts to be spoken in well-defined circumstances and things said once, and conserved because people suspect some hidden secret or wealth lies buried within.

There is a second way in which a language contains our history. Through the words and idioms it uses, it provides us with clues about their earlier states of mind of its speakers, and about the kinds of cultural contact they had... words become art of the evidence of social history. George Ateiner in 'The Hollow Miracle', applies: 'Everything forgets. But not a language' (Crow 1997, 3-4)

Foucault (1994, 2002) stresses this point,

Value corresponds, then, to the attributive function which, for General Grammar, is performed by the verb, and which giving rise to the preposition, constitutes the initial threshold beyond which there is language. But when appreciative value becomes estimative value, that is, when it is defined and limited within the system constituted by all possible exchanges, then each value finds itself positioned and patterned by all the others: when this happens, value assumes the articulatory role recognized by General Grammar in all the non-verbal elements of the proposition (that is, in nouns, and in all words that, whether visibly or in secret, contain a nominal function).

We can feel the spirit of the nation from language, which is a sort of monument to which each every person contributes.

Language is the most massive and inclusive art we know, a mountainous and anonymous work of unconscious generations (Sapir 19921, 6)

Languages are repositories of history. The grammar and lexicon of its texts reveal it,

Languages are the pedigree of nations. *Pedigree*, then as now, refers to Ancestry, lineage, or descent. . . . Language encapsulates its speakers' history. 'Language is the archives of history', said Emerson (In 'The Poet', 1844). (Crystal 2002, 40-41)

As Foucault (1994, 202) has pointed out,

Value, then, occupies exactly the same position in the analysis of wealth as structure does in natural history; like structure, it unites in one and the same operation the function that permits the attribution of one sign to another sign, of one representation to another, and the function that permits the articulation of the elements that compose the totality of representations or the signs that compose them.

If we want to know a community, we need to know its myths, legends, traditions, practices and the amount of history it has. That is what we know as heritage. 'Language embodies the intellectual wealth of the people who use it' (Crystal 2002, 51)

Language is described by Foucault (1994, 209) as follows,

Language is simply the representation of words; nature is simply the representation of beings; need is simply the representation of needs. The end of Classical thought- and of the EPISTEME that made general grammar, natural history, and the science of wealth possible- will coincide with the decline of representation, or rather with the emancipation of language, of the living being, and of need, with regard to representation.

Some famous authors tried to define also the question of heritage, 'Has a nation anything more precious than the language of its father?' (Herder, 1976). 'To lose the language is to lose an essential part of the nation's identity and heritage. (Davis, 1843)

Language is no longer linked to the knowing of things, but to men's freedom: 'language is human; it owes its origin and progress to our full freedom; it is our history, our heritage. By defining the internal laws of grammar, one is simultaneously linking language and the free destiny of men in a profound kinship. Throughout the nineteenth century, philology was to have profound political reverberations. (Foucault 1994, 291)

One might say that it was in the rhetoric surrounding the French revolution in 1789 that nationalism, national loyalty, the notion of 'fatherland' and, the belief of unity and autonomy first found forceful expression.

It was in the German romanticism, that began at about the same time, than the notion of a VOLK and the almost mystical connection between nation and language were so expounded so fervently in the modern era (Edwards 1995, 130)

Sapir thought it safe enough to see romantic efforts on behalf of 'small' languages as 'eddies in the more powerful stream of standardization of speech that set in at the close of the medieval period'. (Mandelbaun 1963, 88)

As Edwards (1995, 136) reasonably states, 'we should give minority groups some special attention, for three main reasons:

- a) because they highlight for us matters which, at one time or another, have affected all groups;
- b) because it is appropriate to pay special attention to those in struggle;
- c) because on purely practical grounds we see increasing federalism accompanied by a concern for minorities and their cultures, and in eastern Europe, we see that, as the heavy weight of despotism has eased, old ethnic rivalries-never having been adequately resolved, but only stifled-again clamour for balance.

Foucault (1994, 290) has pointed out,

Language is rooted not in the things perceived, but in the active subject. And perhaps, in that case, it is a product of will and energy, rather than of the memory that duplicates representation. We speak because we act, and not because recognition is a means of cognition. Like action, language expresses a profound will to something.

Eco (1997, 350-351) believes that the solution for the future is more likely to be in a community of peoples with an increase ability to receive the spirit, to taste or savour the aroma of different dialects.

Polyglot Europe will not be a continent where individuals converse fluently in all the other languages; in the best of cases, it could be a continent where differences of language are no longer barriers to communication, where people can meet each other and speak together, each in his or her own tongue, understanding, as best they can, the speech of others.

Foucault (1994, 290)'s comment applies here,

... for if language expresses, it does so not in so far as it is an imitation and duplication of things, but in so far as it manifests and translates the fundamental will of those who speak it.

The following seems to me a fair and reasonable statement,

In this way, even those who never learn to speak another language fluently could still participate in its particular genius, catching a glimpse of the particular cultural universe that every individual expresses each time he or she speaks the language of his or her ancestors and his or her own tradition. (Eco 1997, 351)

Saussure (2002, 202, tells us,

It is different to say what the difference is between a language and a dialect. Often a dialect is called a language because it has a literature: that is true of Portuguese and Dutch. The question of intelligibility also plays a part. People who cannot understand one another are generally described as speaking different languages which have developed in one continuous area with a settled population exhibit the same phenomena as dialects, but on a larger scale.

## 6 - Language and species

But God, in order to exercise our wisdom, merely sowed nature with forms for us to decipher (and it is in this sense that knowledge should be *divination*), whereas the Ancients have already provided us with interpretations, which we need do no more than gather together ( Foucault 1994, 33)

Nineteenth century linguists used the same methods as zoologists and botanists to study language phenomena. They thought that languages, just like animal or vegetable species, could be classified together in language families, groups, and subgroups, etc, depending on their aspect; ways of functioning or alleged origins. 'It will be seen that the experience of language belongs to the same archaeological network as the knowledge of things and nature' ( Foucault 1994, 41)

If the present rate of disappearance continues, our 6,700 modern languages could be reduced within a century or two to just a few hundred. Time is running out even to study the others. Hence linguists face a race against time similar to that faced by biologists, now aware that many of the world's plant and animal species are in danger of extinction (Diamond 1993, 81)

Anthropologists bemoan the language massacre, saying that each language is like a soaring cathedral: a thing of beauty, the product of immense creative effort, filled with tapestries of knowledge. Language can also contain within them a mass of accumulated knowledge about the natural world, a treasure for botanists and even pharmaceutical companies.

Paul Allen Cox, a botanist who heads the National Tropical Botanical Garden in Hawaii and Florida, said that he spent a year living in Western Samoa recording the knowledge of PELA LIKO, a traditional healer.

Back in a laboratory, researchers found in the liquid taken from a tree, a compound that doubled the life of T-cells, which play a crucial role in human immune systems.

The journal *CYTOTECHNOLOGY* published the discovery in 1994. How have they discovered the treasure? Through one of the 'nearly extinct' languages in Hawaii. 'When we lose the language, we also lose the plant lore... I see language as a bottle that holds a precious fluid.(Cook 2000, 16).

To know language is no longer to come as close as possible to knowledge itself; it is merely to apply the methods of understanding in general to a particular domain of objectivity (Foucault 1994, 296)

In recent years there has been a growing realization of the importance of biological diversity.

First, all-present-day diversity is the outcome of processes that took a very long time: millions of years in the case of biodiversity, at least 100,000 years in the case of linguistic diversity. And once genuine diversity is lost, it cannot be easily restored, in spite of progress in bioengineering and linguistic engineering (Fabrizio 1997, 17)

As Foucault (1994, 18-19) remarks,

The world is simply the universal 'convenience' of things; there are the same number of fishes in the water as there are animals, or objects produced by nature or man, on the land (are there not fishes called EPISCOPUS, others called PRIAPUS); the same number of beings in the water and on the surface of the earth as there are in the sky, the inhabitants of the former corresponding with those of the latter; and lastly, there are the same number of beings in the whole creation as may be found eminently contained in God himself, 'the Sower of Existence, of Power, of Knowledge and of Love'.

Linguistic diversity and diversity in the natural world are both functional.

As we have learned the qualities some certain plants have, we can also gather information of an amazing degree of lexicon familiar to a specific culture.

Many New Guinea languages, for example, make dozens of distinctions between different types of cordyline leaves, according to whether such leaves are used for dressmaking, decoration, magic or other purposes. (Fabrizio 1997, 19)

Many linguists predict that languages are becoming extinct at twice the rate of endangered mammals and four times the rate of endangered birds.

The web of languages is a microcosm of highly specialized information. Every language is not simply a different set of words for the same things. Just as we depend on biological complexity for our physical survival, we depend on linguistic complexity for our cultural survival (Ostler 2000)

The loss of a language is not a life-threatening issue that has attracted the public attention in the same way as the green issues. Most adults know and children are also taught about such matters as the need to preserve nature.

The Green movement has been eminently successful in raising the public consciousness and sense of urgency about its biological heritage except language. (Crystal 2002, 32).

He calls the phenomenon 'the need of a green linguistics'. Jespersen (1922, 5) emphasizes the idea of ecology and linguistic issues,

Franz Bopp, the famous 19<sup>th</sup> century linguist (1791-1867), also felt that languages were akin to living things: 'languages are to be considered organic natural bodies, which are formed according to fixed laws, develop as possessing an inner principle of life, and gradually die out because they do not understand themselves any longer.'

On the issue of nature Foucault ( 1994, 34) writes,

... it is to eternal truth what signs are to the secrets of nature (it is the mark whereby the word may be deciphered); and it possesses an ageless affinity with the things that it unveils.

Although languages themselves do not live or die, and obey no organic imperatives, their speakers do. In the sixteenth century, Joachim du Bellay (1523-60) was able to observe that,

Languages are not born of themselves after the fashion of herbs, roots, or trees: some infirm and weak in their nature; others healthy, robust, and more fitted to carry the burden of human conception; but all their virtue is born in the world of the desire and will of mortal (de Bellay 1939, 21)

So, languages have a span of existence which is based on human society and culture rather than by natural laws,

Linguists do recognize that the fortunes of languages are inexorably bound up with those of their users. Perhaps we might consider languages as inorganic parasites on human hosts. (Edwards 1995, 8-9).

When language transmission breaks down, through language diversity loss, species also lose their adaptational strength.

We can connect languages with natural resources removed from earth. We cannot also draw on zoology or even with genes. Crystal (2002, 36) explains,

Language diversity, like a gene pool, is essential for our species to thrive... If we are to prosper, we need the cross fertilization of thought that multilingualism gives us.

Language stands halfway between the visible forms of nature and the secret conveniences of esoteric discourse (Foucault 1994, 35)

Crystal proposes a quotation from a policy statement issued by the Linguistic Society of America in 1994, which goes a step beyond analogy,

The loss to humankind of genetic diversity in the linguistic world is... arguably greater than even the loss of genetic diversity in the biological world, given that the structure of human language represents a considerable testimony to human intellectual achievement.(Crystal 2002, 36)

Foucault (1994, 74) tells us,

The sciences always carry within themselves the project, however remote it may be, of an exhaustive ordering of the world; they are always directed, too, towards the discovery of simple elements and their progressive combination.

We have 4,000 different ways to describe the world by means of languages. We should be concerned about preserving languages just as we are about ecology.

Names and genera, designation and classification, language and nature, cease to be automatically interlocked. (Foucault 1994, 230).

Ecosystems are those which are most diverse. Variety is a necessity in the evolution of natural systems.

Our success in colonizing the planet has been due to our ability to develop diverse cultures which suit all kinds of environments. (Crystal 2002, 33)

Edwards (1995, 242) concludes,

Differences among languages, like differences among species, are the effects of three processes acting over long spans of time. One process is variation-mutation, in the case of species; linguistic innovation, in the case of languages. The second is hereditary so that descendants resemble their progenitors in these variations-genetic inheritance, in the case of species; the ability to learn, in the case of languages. The third is isolation-by geography, breeding season, or reproductive anatomy, in the case of species; by migrations or social barriers, in the case of languages.

Foucault (1994, 293)'s comment applies here,

There is one major difference, however between languages and living beings. The latter have no true history except by means of a certain relation between their functions and the conditions of their existence.

He goes on outlining as follows,

Thus, language occupied a fundamental situation in relation to all knowledge: it was only by the medium of language that the things of the world could be known. (Foucault 1994, 296)

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## 7- Our threatened linguistic world.

From *Trelawny*, the National Anthem of Cornwall:

*And shall Trelawny live?  
And shall Trelawny die?  
Here's twenty thousand Cornish men  
Will know the reason why?*

Once a group becomes aware of its ethnic identity, it will wish to preserve and strengthen its status.

In general the twentieth century seems to be not able for the large number of languages which are either obviously dying out or showing marked signs of contractions such as loss of speakers.

Since man was constituted at a time when language was doomed to dispersion, will he not be dispersed when language regains its unity? And if that were true, would it not be an error- a profound error, since it could hide from us what should now be thought- to interpret our actual experience as an application of the forms of language to the human order? (Foucault 1994, 386).

A language dies when people consciously decide to stop speaking it. A language dies because another language takes its place.

Generally speaking, conflict between languages is almost inevitable due to the fact that 'normal everyday life is now carried out in multicultural worlds'. Furthermore, monolingual speech communities are extremely rare. The exceptions being, highly improbable Neolithic tribes, and, less so, communities that have been discriminated in exceptionally harsh ways or that have voluntarily isolated themselves from the surrounding cultures. Now, how does the conflict begin? It starts as the result, in modern times, of economic domination of one country over others and of the displacement of large numbers of people from one territory to another. This movement occurs either within the law (immigration favoured by state policies) or against it (migration fought by the governments). However, there is still an older reason for language contact: conquests.

Let us take the example of Celtic culture. When Christianity came to Celtic lands and the original Celtic Pagan religion died out it was Celtic culture, through the medium of Celtic language that kept alive the memories of the 'old ways'.



The deck is stacked heavily against the world's minority languages, but the case is not hopeless.

Although recent language policies everywhere attempt to reverse this trend (of loss), for many languages it is simply too late. Besides, even now, speakers of the dominant language take occasional backward steps.

The government of Australia's Northern Territory recently decided to discontinue bilingual education programs, while the Internet provider America Online has banned the use of Irish in its 'Peace in Ireland' chat group. Proponents of English as the official language of the United States severely restricted bilingual education in California in 1998 with the passage of Proposition 227. (Kaucher 1999, 2)

There are many ways of defining endangered languages, the most simplistic being languages below some critical number of speakers.

Nancy Dorian (1980, 85-94) lists three symptoms of language death: fewer speakers, fewer domains of use, and structural simplification.

Krauss (1992, 1-42) in his comparison of languages to endangered biological species defines three categories of languages:

- 1- moribund: 'languages no longer being learned as mother tongue by children'
- 2- endangered: 'languages, which, though now still being learned by children, will-if the present conditions continue-cease to be learned by children during the coming century' and
- 3- safe: languages with 'official state support and very large numbers of speakers.'

Fisherman (1991, 14) uses a three-stage intergenerational disruption scale, where the most threatened languages are those used only:

- 1- by officially isolated old folks.
- 2- by a socially integrated population beyond child-bearing age.
- 3- only orally, with no literacy.

Currently there are several options for involvement with endangered languages. The choice depends on national and institutional philosophy, local opinion, and resources available.

'Do nothing, accept changes in language use as normal'. Such a philosophy would perhaps reflect Edwards' (1985,86) assertion that 'it is natural for language use to change and more reasonable to consider group and individual identity altering'. The author goes on to conclude that 'it is to see the abandonment of original or static positions as decay or loss'.

Especially in the case of a moribund language, document the language, recording as much data as possible. For example Sarah Gudschinsky's (1974, 177-249) work with the last known speaker of OFAIĒ, during 1958 and 1959, provided valuable linguistic information about the composition of the GĒ family. The arguments include the safeguarding of linguistic diversity, contributing to a knowledge base for language universals, and the western idea that knowledge in and of itself is valuable. And there are some ethical questions, however. She explains,

One is motivation: all too often the creation of a linguistic market. Another concerns the rights of indigenous people to their languages; many want at least collaborative research, better yet to be trained to do the research themselves; others would allow only research with direct benefit to the community.

But basically, what keeps a language alive is its social function: the only people who can stop a language from shrinking or dying are the speakers of that language.

Akira Jamamoto (1997, 8-14), on the other hand, distinguishes nine factors that help maintain and promote the small languages,

- ✦ The existence of a dominant culture in favour of linguistic diversity;
- ✦ A strong sense of ethnic identity within the endangered community;
- ✦ The promotion of educational programmes about the endangered language and culture.
- ✦ The creation of bilingual/bicultural school programmes;
- ✦ The training of native speakers as teachers;
- ✦ The involvement of the speech community as a whole;
- ✦ The creation of language materials that are easy to use;
- ✦ The development of written literature, both traditional and new;
- ✦ The creation and strengthening of the environments in which the language must be used.

Valiquette (1998, 107-12) picks up the first factor: languages need communities in order to live. So, only a community can save an endangered language,

The community, and only the community can preserve a living language. If the community surrenders its responsibility to outsiders, or even to a few persons within the community (such as school teachers), the language will die. Language preservation efforts must involve the total community, and not just part of it.

There is a good deal of truth in comments like the following,

The saving of a language demands commitment, a shared sense of responsibility, a clear sense of direction, and a wide range of special skills. Many languages need management to survive. (Warm 1991, 1-18)

That is why, in many parts of the world, we see the emergence of teams to maintain languages. The task is very great. When a language is endangered, it is the responsibility of a community to do something about it.

David Crystal (2002, 156) lists some steps to be taken, too,

- ✦ A process of standardization, for both speech and writing, and a publicly usable alphabet devised;
- ✦ Strategies should be introduced to reinforce the use of the language in homes and other domestic settings;
- ✦ Strategies for expanding the use of the written and spoken language in the public domain;
- ✦ Strategies to give the language a presence in schools, with the aim of making it a medium of instruction;
- ✦ Curriculum materials to be written and published for both and adult use;
- ✦ Texts in the language (such as stories, poems, newspaper articles), to be written and published;
- ✦ Principles need to be established to get the language recognized as an official regional language.

I agree with Crystal (2002, 159) when he says, 'linguists are not the ones to instil a sense of enthusiasm within a community'

Dauenhauer (1998, 57-98) concludes, 'Language death is a terrible loss, to all who come into contact with it. Facing the loss of language or culture involves the same stages, of grief that one experiences in the process of death and dying.'

Language has always meant power in a way or another. From the earliest times, those who have a command of the language which is used for government and is spoken by the leaders of a community, state or nation will be in the best position to negotiate or persuade,

They will have access to power and therefore wealth. The language of influence changes for different reasons. A country may be invaded as England was by the Danes, or it may be conquered as it was by the Normans.... Vocabulary creeps gradually into the host language (Elmes 2000, 1)

In the twentieth century, few European states were without significant allochthonous minorities.

The era of nationalism thus created the concept of 'linguistic minority' as an inevitable corollary to the desire for national cohesion and homogeneity. Where nationalist ideology was strong, 'linguistic minority' was not simply a concept but also a problem. Language rights are not group rights, which are so problematic in terms of individual freedoms.

The nationalism of the early twenty-first century is perhaps not as virulent as that of earlier times and borders are more permeable than hitherto. The autochthonous 'minority language groups' are still the subject of suspicion by those who have accepted national language and identity. There is a belief that claims for the restitution of cultural and linguistic rights are only a precursor to demands for autonomy and independence. In many instances such suspicions are justified, as groups which sought and achieves the restitution of culture and language have also sought and achieves devotion of political power.

It seems that states can relinquish sovereignty in the economic, political and even defence fields more easily than linguistic and cultural rights.

Nancy Dorian (1981, 4) points out that 'it may be quite difficult to ascertain just when a language is dead, since the process of decline may be a gradual one in which speakers' competence and language function shrink'. Foucault (1994,78) adds to this comment,

'And language exists in the gap that representation creates for itself.' (Foucault 1994, 78)

Edwards (1995, 21) explains the difference between being dead and debilitated when dealing with languages.

The death of the last speaker is one thing; progressively debilitating illness is another, but it might well be that at some point in a lingering decline, a point at which a competing variety's power seems overwhelming, we might for some purposes at least consider the first language gone. Practically speaking, this point might be reached when a language- perhaps already greatly restricted in form of function- becomes only a passive competence and is no longer used.

Foucault (1994, 81) outlines as follows,

However, until the connection between language and representation is broken, or at least transcended, in our culture all secondary languages will be imprisoned within the alternative of criticism or commentary.

An interesting discussion was provided by the Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) in his COURSE DE LINGUISTIQUE GÉNÉRALE, a book published by his students, on the basis of his lectures after his death.

The laws that govern the spread of linguistic phenomena are the same as those that govern any custom whatsoever, for example, fashion. In every human collectivity two forces are always working simultaneously and in opposing directions: individualism or PROVINCIALISM (*esprit de clocher*) on the one hand and intercourse-communications among men on the other. (de Saussure 1960, 205)

What has provincialism to do with language loss, then?

Provincialism keeps small communities faithful to their own, original habits; but, while provincialism makes people's sedentary intercourse obliges them to move about... (it) spreads language... prevents dialectal splintering by wiping out an innovation... (but may also) promote unity by adopting and spreading an innovation (de Saussure 1960, 206)

Foucault(1994, 82) on the other hand remarks,

It is here that the peculiar property of language resides, that which distinguishes it both from representation (of which, in its turn, it is nevertheless the representation) and from signs (to which it belongs without any other particular privilege). It does not stand in opposition to thought as the exterior to interior, or expression to reflection.

Languages may die, but are they murdered or do they commit suicide?

Many have felt, for example, that languages do not die 'natural deaths' but are killed by those wishing to destroy the nation... Those supporting the encouragement, restoration or revival of a threatened language, are likely to hold the murder view. (Edwards 1995, 102)

Gregor (1982, 6) explains language loss as 'there is no single cause.' A chain of events is involved', adds Denison (1977, 13-22). While Aitchinson (1981, 7) casts light on the difference between murder and suicide: 'murder is when dissimilar languages are in contact and where a high-prestige variety extends across domains, and suicide when similar languages come into contact'.

However, it seems that both forms of decline ultimately involve suicide in the sense that, at some point, a new variety is adopted.

The direct cause of language death is lack of transmission to children. This occurs because a community 'sometimes decides', for reasons of functional economy, to suppress a part of itself (Denison 1974, 21)

Edwards (1995, 104) insists on the fact of suicide and murder as follows,

In linguistic suicide, on the other hand, there is always a significant other (language) which creates the pressures leading to language shift and decline; there is always a murderer... a language can bring about another's demise without directly and actively planning to do so.

Dunn (1974, 134) speaks about the question of rural areas and decline,

Languages in decline are often confined to rural areas, and associations are made between the language and an unwanted past (and present). One observer of Nova Scotia Gaelic said that the language was one of 'toil, hardship and scarcity while English was the medium of refinement and culture'

It seems that bilingual accommodation may be the best hope for small languages.

Activities in support of threatened languages often produce an increase in the number of people knowing the language.

A 'cultural loyalty' is often more widespread than a narrower 'language loyalty' and this is understandable in the light of what has already been mentioned... while acting to support a declining language may be risky, stigmatizing and unproductive, retaining (or developing) an interest in other cultural manifestations is easier. It has been argued that 'what the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember' (Edwards 1995, 111).

Immigrants who 'lose' their culture in the second generation regret this, and wish to recapture it in the third.

Environments change, people move, and needs and demands alter. And it is almost inexorable upon language.

The term 'language loss', which is often found in discussions of declining linguistic fortunes, is perhaps less accurate than language change. People are never, after all, at a point without any language. Language decline is often a symptom of social group contact between populations of unequal political and economic status. (Edwards 1995, 116)

Factors that promote change in language include individual variation in the use of language, and the extent to which language can be influenced by social, political and also economic forces.

Language performance and competence is likely to be affected by any or all of these. Occupation, social class, age, ethnic group (may be linked to regional variation) and sexuality.

The complex effect of these things is itself, subject to change and the process is reciprocal: language use is both cause and effect of things in society.

Language is also used to achieve a variety of purposes in a range of different contexts.

Nancy Dorian (1982, 47), well known for her work on the declining fortunes of Scottish Gaelic, has pointed out that 'loyalty persists as long as the economic and social circumstances are conducive to it, but if some other language proves to have greater value, a shift to that other language begins'.

To inject new life to language decline is very difficult. Indeed, Weinreich (1974, 108) observed that 'many obsolescent languages have received new leases on life through a rejuvenated language loyalty among their speakers and have made the prediction of the death of languages a hazardous business.'

On the other hand, it has been sometimes bluntly stated that dead languages stay dead; revival is impossible. Thus Osborn Bergin (1969, 91), the Irish philologist and grammarian, noted that 'no language has ever been revived and no language ever will be revived'.

It is not entirely accurate,

The idea that, when we destroy words, what is left is neither mere noise nor arbitrary, pure elements, but other words- this idea is at once the negative of all the modern science of languages and the myth in which we now transcribe the most obscure and the most real powers of language. (Foucault 1994, 103)

A recent criticism of modern 'revived' Cornish held that it is 'self-evident that there is no way by which the pronunciation of a language that no one now living has ever heard spoken can be recovered in an approximate form'.

Arthur Koestler (1980, 157) saw the descendants of the biblical tribes as 'the classical example of linguistic adaptability, 'a strong demonstration of group identity outliving communicative language shift,

First they spoke Hebrew, in the Babylonian exile, Chaldean; at the time of Jesus, Aramaic; in Alexandria, Greek, in Spain, Arabic, but later Ladino- a Spanish- Hebrew mixture written in Hebrew characters, the Sephardic equivalent of Yiddish; and so it goes on. They preserved their religious identity, but changed languages at their convenience.

Language gives the perpetual disruption of time the continuity of space, and it is to the degree that it analysis, articulates, and patterns representation that it has the power to link our knowledge of things together across the dimension of time. With the advent of language, the chaotic monotony of space is fragmented while at the same time the diversity of temporal successions is unified (Foucault 1994, 113)

There are so many examples of language competition all over the world,

In the Americas, we observe the power of Spanish and English competing with the often declining fortunes of indigenous Amerindian languages. The intertwining of French and Arabic is a feature of North African societies, and, in east Africa, the power of Swahili as a lingua franca remains impressive. (Edwards 1995, 136-137)

The author points out that we should also bear in mind that here are some minorities of indigenous –Celtic language speakers in France and Britain, for example. 'Some groups become minorities voluntarily, while others have little or no say in the matter.' (Edwards 1995, 139)

If it is important to preserve cultural and linguistic heritage, then it becomes difficult to make the case for the protection of some languages but not others. Why should Cornish be treated differently from Catalan, Welsh or Irish?

There will, of course, be languages with more prestige than others, deriving as ever from the political and economic clout of their speakers, but the present hierarchy may be challenged.

Generally speaking, conflict between languages is almost inevitable due to the fact that normal everyday life is now carried out in multicultural worlds. Monolingual speech communities are extremely rare.

The conflict starts as a result, in modern times, of economic and political domination of one country over another and of the displacement of large numbers of people from one territory to another.

Language is power. It gives the group its identity, it lends cohesion to the vernacular culture and strengthens bonds among the community members.



History teaches a plain lesson about language: there is almost nothing anyone from a free country can do to change language usage and practice significantly, to force its citizens to use certain languages in preference to others, and to discourage people from speaking a language they wish to continue to speak. The rebirth of Hebrew in Palestine and Israel's successful mandate that Hebrew be spoken and written by Israelis is a unique event in the annals of language history.

We like to believe that to pass a law is to change behaviour; but passing laws about language, in a free society, almost never changes attitudes or behaviour. Gaelic (Irish) is living out a slow, inexorable decline in Ireland despite enormous government support of every possible kind since Ireland in contrast, is alive today in Wales, in spite of heavy discrimination during its history. Three out of four people in the northern and western countries of GWYNEDD AND DYFED speak Welsh.

Welsh, the direct descendant of the Celtic language that was spoken throughout most of Britain when the Anglo-Saxons invaded, has long been under threat from English. England's economic and technological dominance has made English the language of choice, causing a decline in the number of Welsh speakers. And although the decline has steadied in the last fifteen years, less than 20 % of the population of Wales today can speak Welsh in addition to English.

To say that a thing the value is to say that it is, or that we esteem it, good for some use. The value of things is thus founded on their utility, or, what amounts to the same thing, on the use we can make them. (Condillac, *Le Commerce et le gouvernement*, Œuvres, T.IV, p.10). A value that is absolute, since it concerns each commodity individually and without its being compared with any other; yet it is also relative and changing since it is modified in accordance with men's appetite, desires, and need. (Foucault 1994, 196)

In the nineteenth century, there were more than 1,000 Indian languages in Brazil, many spoken in small, isolated villages in the rain forest, today there are a mere 200, most of which have never been written down or recorded. In North America, the 300 or more indigenous languages spoken in the past have been halved.

When an endangered language (such as Gaelic) is spoken in a culture whose historical significance is widely appreciated- perhaps because it is associated with prowess in arts and crafts, or because it is known for its literary achievements- it may provoke widespread concern... But in most cases, anxiety, like charity, begins at home. (Crystal 1997, 3)

There should be no discrimination between speakers of a language that dominates on a territory and speakers of other languages, the so-called minority languages.

Linguistic restrictions were always a manifestation of the defeat and domination of one group by another, and linguistic repression was only one of many repressions.

Rotokas language, (the language spoken in the Bougainville's mountains in the Pacific, a tropical rainforest) has music. It is now disappearing from the mountains, and from the world. 'The Rotokas language is just one of eighteen languages spoken on an island roughly three quarters the size of Connecticut' (Diamond 1993, 79)

With its vanishing, a 30,000-year history of human communication and cultural development is coming to an end.

Thus the eradication of most of the world's accumulation of languages would be an overwhelming tragedy, just as would be the destitution of most of the world's accumulated art or literature... Rotokas villagers feel a similar bond to their own language and culture (Diamond 1993, 79)

One language is really as good as another. There is no all-purpose 'best language'. 'Language loss does not only curtail the freedom of minorities, it also curtails the opinion of majorities' (Diamond 1993, 85)

Marian Mitchum (1998, 163-91), reflecting on work with North American peoples, sums it up in this way,

The loss of languages is tragic precisely because they are not interchangeable, precisely because they represent the distillation of the thoughts and communication of a people over their entire history.

At least when a dying language has been written down, as in the case of Latin or Classical Greek, we can usually still read its messages. But when a language without a writing system disappears, its speakers experience its loss forever. 'Language loss is knowledge loss, and it is irretrievable'. (Crystal 1997, 3).

There are good many possible outcomes of extensive language contact, and by no means all of them include language loss, whether on the community level or on the individual level.

On the level of the individual, the result of extensive language contact may also be a complete shift, over a lifetime or over a briefer transition period but at least a partial shift occurs, so that at least one of the two languages does not retain its full complement of functions (Allen 1980, 39).

Occasionally, a politically dominated area possesses a cultural tradition of such strength that its language survives conquest or perhaps even prevails over the language of the conquering power. 'Greek maintained a strong position under the domination of the Romans, and the Norsemen adopted a Romance tongue in France.' (Dorian 1982, 45-46)

The theory of value makes it possible, in fact, to explain (whether by dearth and need or by the superabundance of nature) how certain objects can be introduced into the system of exchanges, how, by means of the primitive process of barter, one thing can be posited as the equivalent of another, how the estimate of the first can be related to the estimate of the second in accordance with a relation of equality (A and B have the same value) or one of analogy (the value of A, possessed by my counterpart, is to my need what the value of B, which I possess, is to him.). (Foucault 1994, 200-202)

We have also dealt with the question of avoiding transmission of the language to children. That is, no jobs and social advantages accrued through mastery of the language in question,

A native speaker of East Sutherland Gaelic, ... told me that she hadn't taught the language to her children because 'Gaelic is no use to you through the world' (Dorian 1982, 45).

Hymes (1966, 126) drew attention to a study by Hohenthal and to Mc Corkle (1955) which contrasted two South American Indian groups in terms of retention of language (and identity). One group, the Fulnio of Brazil,

(They) have given up their lands several times during the last three centuries, moving in order to preserve their language and annual religious ceremony.

The other group, the GUAYQUERIES, who live on islands off the coast of Venezuela, apparently abandoned their language and their pre-Christian religion, very early, since no trace of the original language or religion survives. In the case of one small group of the guayqueries who gave up that social structure, their distinctiveness was lost, and they became indistinguishable from other Venezuelans. Hymes (1966, 126) comments: 'Language, together with religion, has served a separatist and unifying function in the one case, but not in the other.'

Hamp (1978, 160) studied the case of Albanian language enclaves in Greece and in Italy,

In Italy, where a tradition of cultivating and valuing localism (including local dialects) prevails, the Albanian enclaves are preserving their language, while in Greece, with an ethnocentric reverence feature, the Albanian areas-once quite extensive- are losing their distinctive language.

Hamp maintains that it is entirely in keeping with, even predictable from these different cultural traditions, that Italian immigrants in the USA usually give up Italian after the first generation in favour of the language of the new locality, while immigrant Greeks in the USA will cling to their language to the third generation (Hamp 1978, 62).

Connected with the subject of my thesis, Ellis (1971, 48) adds the fact that where threatened languages have made a comeback, it has usually been in connection with a sharp rise in nationalistic sentiment,

There were some notable success stories in Europe as nationalism gained strength: Finnish successfully replaced the prestige language which had threatened to displace it in its own homeland (that is, Swedish) and Czech ceased to lose ground to German with the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the establishment of an independent Czechoslovakia.

Although it seems clear that language numbers of speakers will not save a language, it also seems that a comeback on the part of a threatened language rarely occurs without a substantial demographic base, even if that base is largely among the peasantry,

We should take a look at how the world's languages are divided up. If the global population of about 5.5 billion humans were equally distributed among its 6,000 tongues, then each language would have roughly 900,000 speakers enough to give each language a fair chance of survival... the vast majority of people use only one of a few 'big' languages, such as Mandarin Chinese, English, or Spanish each with hundreds of millions of native speakers. The vast majority of languages are 'little' ones, with a median number of perhaps only 5,000 speakers (Diamond 1993, 81-82)

Our 6,000 languages are also unevenly distributed over the globe. Western Europe is especially poorly endowed, with about forty-five native languages.

In 1788, when European settlement of Australia began, aboriginal Australia was considerably richer: it had 250 languages, despite having far fewer people than Western Europe. The Americas at the time of Columbus's arrival were richer yet more than 1,000 languages (Diamond 1993, 85)

Before expansions of farmers began in earnest around 6000BC the world harboured tens of thousands of languages. If so, then we may already have lost much of the world's linguistic diversity. Let us take Etruscan, Hittite, and Sumerian.

Linguists have surveyed around 170 living languages. Even if one counts regional languages, such as the fifteen specified in India's constitution, that yields at best a few hundred languages officially protected anywhere in the world.

Seventeen other native Alaskan languages are moribund, in that not a single child is learning them. Although they are still being spoken by older people, they too will meet the fate of Eyak when the last of those speakers dies. (Diamond 1993, 86)

Vilela (sole surviving language of a group of Indian languages in Argentina) is spoken by two individuals.

If you wondered why 149 out of 187 North American Indian languages are now moribund, just consider the policy practised until recently by the US government regarding those languages. For several centuries we insisted that Indians could be 'civilised' and taught English only by removing children from the 'barbarous' atmosphere of their parents' homes to English-language-only boarding schools, where use of Indian languages was absolutely forbidden and punished with physical abuse and humiliation (Diamond 1993, )

English is still a problem but if we go to countries where English is still not dominant—such as the countries of the former Soviet Union—languages already started to die out because of Russian, Chinese and other languages.

The point is that languages are dying all over the world and it would be wrong to say that it is just because of English. The rapid loss of these languages is due to the processes of globalization in general.

In 1992, linguists attending the International Linguists Congress in Quebec agreed the following statement.

It is for UNESCO a task of great urgency to respond to this situation by promoting and, if possible, sponsoring programs of linguistic organizations for the description in the form of grammars, dictionaries and texts, including the recording of oral literatures, of hitherto unstudied or inadequately documented endangered and dying languages (Crystal 2000, 7-8)

As Crystal believes, one day English will be 'the only language left to learn. If that happens, I concluded, will be the greatest intellectual disaster that the planet has ever known' (Crystal 2000, 7-8).

The Australian author David Malouf thinks that when 'my tongue being no longer alive in the mouths of men a chill goes over me that is deeper than my own death since it is the gathered deaths of all my kind. (Crystal 2000, 25).

The language of the dominant culture infiltrates everywhere, reinforced by the relentless daily pressure of the media, and especially of television-an effect which Michel Krauss (1998, 4-10) has likened to 'cultural nerve gas'. Traditional knowledge and practices are quickly eroded. (Crystal 2000, 78)

In many parts of the world we notice that the language ability brings with it certain 'socioeconomic rights': for example, in Colombia, the ability to speak an indigenous language is part of the evidence that the government uses to decide whether a person is a member of an indigenous people, and thus entitled to such benefits as a place on a reservation, tax exemption, and free energy supply. (Seifart 1998, 9-10)

Crystal (2000, 130) says, 'prestige comes when people start to notice you. An endangered language will progress if its speakers increase their prestige within their community'

Value corresponds, then, to the attributive function which, for GENERAL GRAMMAR, is performed by the verb, and which, giving rise to the proportion, constitutes the initial threshold beyond which there is language (Foucault 1994, 202)

To promote a presence in the home is a priority with any endangered language. But if there is no presence in the school system at all, the future is bleak.

Neither languages nor dialects can be compared in terms of 'better' or 'worse' and that the strong preferences for given varieties, which have always existed, are based upon socio-political considerations.

Britain has seen the re-emergence of Cornish in Cornwall after an appreciable interval, and efforts are underway to make progress with Manx in the Isle of Man. It is too soon to predict the future of these revived languages, but they do exist. Crystal hopes (2000, 162)

In such unexpected but heart warming ways might we see the grand total of languages in the world minimally increased.

On the subject of death also, Barber (1995, 32) says,

A language can also become dead in another way. Nobody today speaks classical Latin as spoken by Julius Caesar, or classical Greek as spoken by Pericles, or the Old Icelandic spoken by the heroes of the Norse sagas. But although dead, they have not died: they have changed into something else.

People still speak Greek as a living language, and this language is simply a changed form of the language spoken in the Athens of Pericles. The people who live in Rome today speak a language that has developed by a process of continuous change out of the language spoken there in the time of Julius Caesar, though modern Italian developed out of the everyday language of the ancient Roman market-place and of common soldiery, rather than out of the upper-class literary Latin than Caesar wrote.

(...); in the same way, language is not modified as much by migrations, trade, and wars, by what happens to man or what his imagination is able to invent, as by conditions that properly belong to the phonetic and grammatical forms of which it is constituted; and if it has been possible to say that the various languages are born, live, lose their energy as they age, and finally die, this biological metaphor is not intended to dissolve their history in a time which would be that of life, but rather to underline the fact that they too have internal laws of functioning, and that their chronology unfolds in accordance with a time that refers in the first place to their own particular coherence. (Foucault 1994, 368)



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## 8- Socio-historical setting. The Cornish language decline

### CHRONOLOGY OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN CORNISH LANGUAGE HISTORY

- 577 BATTLE OF DYRHAM. SOUTHERN BRITONS SEPARATED INTO FOREBEARS OF PRESENTDAY WELSH AND CORNISH
- 682 ENGLISH ADVANCE TO RIVER OTTERY.
- 710 ENGLISH ADVANCE TO TAMAR-LYNHER AREA.
- 722 CORNISH VICTORY AND REEGAIN OF TERRITORY.
- 936 CONQUEST BY ATHELSTAN. EXPULSION OF CORNISH FROM EXETER. BOUNDARY AT THE TAMAR.
- 1000 MANUMISSIONS IN *BODMIN GOSPELS*.
- 1066 NORMAN CONQUEST IN CORNWALL THE 'ARMORICAN RETURN'
- 1100 OLD CORNISH VOCABULARY *VOCABULARIUM CORNICUM*.
- 1198 ORIGINS OF STANNARY PARLIAMENT.
- 1201 FIRST CHARTER OF THE STANNARIES.
- 1264 65 FOUNDATION OF GLASNEY COLLEGE, PENRYN.
- 1337 CREATION OF ROYAL DUCHY OF CORNWALL.
- 1340 *CHARTER FRAGMENT*
- 1348 51 FIRST OUTBREAK OF THE BLACK DEATH.
- 1350 1450 COMPOSITION OF *ORDIVALIA* (CYCLE OF MYSTERY PLAYS) AND PASSION POEM PASCON AGAN ARLUTH.
- 1497 CORNISH RISING LED BY MICHAEL JOSEPH AN GOF AND THOMAS FLAMANK.
- 1504 PLAY OF SAINT MERIASEK. *BEUNAAS MERIASEK*.
- 1549 PRAYER BOOK RISING.
- 1556 58 TREGEAR' S TRANIATION OF BONNER' S HOMILIES.
- 1611 CREATION DRAMA GWRYANS AN BYS (WILLIAM JORDAN OF HILSTON)



- 1642-49 CIVIL WARS.
- 1667 LAST CORNISH CHURCH SERVICES AT LANDERWEDNACK.
- 1675 DEATH OF RICHARD ANGWIN.
- 1678 LAST CORNISH CHURCH SERVICES AT TOWEDNACK.
- 1680 WILLIAM SCAWEN . (DIED 1689) *ANTIQUITIES CORNU-BRITANNIC.*
- 1700 EDWARD LIIUYD (ANTIQUARY, PHILOLOGIST 1660-1709) IN CORNWALL.
- 1703 DEATH OF NICHOLAS BOSON.
- 1707 LIIUYD' S *ARCHAEOLOGIA BRITANNICA.*
- 1716 DEATH OF JOHN KEIGWIN.
- 1730 DEATH OF JOHN BOSON.
- 1741 DEATH OF WILLIAM GWAVAS.
- 1743 DEATH OF THOMAS TONKIN.
- 1776 WILLIAM BODINAR (DIED 1791) LETTER IN CORNISH.
- 1777 DEATH OF DOLLY PENTREATH OF MOSEHOLE (REPUTEDLY LAST SPEAKER OF CORNISH)
- 1790 WILLIAM PRYCE' S *ARCHAEOLOGIA CORNU BRITANNICA.*
- 1826 28 DAVIES GILBERT PUBLISHES JOHN KEIGWIN' S VERSION OF *PASCON AGAN ARLUTH*, AND JORDAN' S *GWREANS AN BYS.*
- 1859 IN NORRIS' S ANCIENT CORNISH DRAMA.
- 1861 WHITLEY STOKES' *PASCON AGAN ARLUTH.*
- 1861 ROGERS' VOCABULARY OF THE CORNISH LANGUAGE
- 1863 ROBERT WILLIAM' S *LEXICON CORNU-BRITANNICUM.*
- 1868 JACOB GEORGE' S COLLECTION OLD CORNISH WORDS (MOUSEHOLE AND NEWLYN)
- 1869 DISCOVERY OF *BEUNAN'S MERIASEK.* PUBLISHED 1872 BY WHITLEY STOKES.
- 1870 R. S. CHARNOCK' S COLLECTION OF CORNISH WORDS.
- 1871 JOHN BANNISTER' S COLLECTION OF CORNISH WORDS

- 1877 HENRY JENNER (1848-1934) DISCOVERS AND PUBLISHES *CHARTER FRAGMENT*.
- 1880 MISS M.A. COURTNEY AND T. QUILLER COUCH *GLOSSARY OF WORDS USED IN CORNWALL*.
- 1890 W. S. LACH SZYRMA'S THE LAST LOST LANGUAGES OF EUROPE.
- 1891 DEATH OF JOHN DAVEY OF BOSWEDNACK (BORN 1812 AT ST. JUST) REPUTEDLY THE LAST WITH TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE OF CORNISH.

Berresford Ellis (1998, 3-4) tells us that the Celts were the first Trans-Alpine people to emerge into recorded history, originating, according to ancient chroniclers, from the region round The Lower Danube. They invaded and settled in Italy at the beginning of the third century BC and sacked Rome itself in 387-386 BC.

The Romans remained under Celtic domination until 349 BC when they rose against their conquerors and by 345BC the Celtic conquest had been turned back.

In the next century the Celts turned towards Greece and in a spectacular campaign destroyed the armies of Macedonia, Haemos and Thessaly.

This then was the civilization from which the Cornish sprang. The Celts began to invade Britain in the first millennium BC and, at the same time of the Roman Conquest, 43 AD, Britain was entirely Brythonic or British-speaking. (Berresford Ellis 1998, 4)

The Romans settled mainly in south-eastern Britain, halting at Exeter and leaving Cornwall more or less to itself.

In the 5<sup>th</sup> century the Roman occupation ended and the Saxons began to invade.

During the 6<sup>th</sup> century, in the face of invasions and of plague, large groups of Brythonic Celts migrated to Europe, many seeking asylum in a peninsula called Armorica. They took with them the name of their country and we know Armorica today as Brittany or little Britain.

Edwards stresses the point that between two and three thousand years ago the only people in Europe who wrote anything down were the Greeks and the Romans, so that we know quite a lot about them.

On the subject of the Celts Ray Edwards (1996,1) writes,

It seems that large numbers of them (the Celts) crossed over the English Channel and the Irish Sea to arrive in Britain and Ireland. They brought their Celtic speech with them. The settlers in Ireland spoke a little differently from those in Britain, and this difference eventually resulted in two languages sometimes called P and Q Celtic.

Many words which have a Q or K sound in Irish have a P sound in British.

Later population movements gave rise to three Q Celtic languages, Irish, Gaelic and Manx, and the three P Celtic languages, Welsh, Breton and Cornish.

Other Brythonic Celts settled in Galicia, in northern Spain where, by the 10<sup>th</sup> century, they had become absorbed.

The remaining British Celts occupied Western Britain, from Cornwall and Devon, their settlements extended through Wales to Cumberland and into Scotland, where they mingled with the Goidelic Celts.

Berresford Ellis (1998, 5) underlines the fact that after nearly two centuries of struggle, the 'WEAHLAS' or 'FOREIGNERS', as the Saxons called the Celts, became split into three groups and separated from each other. He explains,

The main body was driven into the mountainous west where they formed an independent country. The Saxons called it 'the land of foreigners' or Wales (Weahlas); the Welsh called it Cymru or 'the land of comrades'.

The English retained the ancient name of Cymru in the Anglicised form of Cumbria and Cumberland. Although the Celtic language soon ceased to be spoken, Cumberland is still full of Celtic place names whilst the peculiar style of Cumberland wrestling is remarkably similar to that in Cornwall.

In the south-west of Britain, the Celts of Devon and Cornwall united into the kingdom of Dumnonia but its eastern border was weak and slowly the Saxons began to move into Devon. Within a few years Dumnonia had disintegrated and the Celts were confined in the kingdom of Kernow, which the English called 'the land of the Cornish foreigners' - CORNU-WEAHLAS or CORNWALL.

As a result of the geographical separation imposed upon the various groups of Brythonic Celts, differentiations began to emerge in their languages. Breton had its own growth while the Brythons of Cumbria were, by the 11<sup>th</sup> century, swamped by Scottish Gaelic and English.

Ellis (1980, 6) underlines the fact that by the sixth century, the language of Southern Scotland and Cornwall was exactly the same.

It is not until the 9<sup>th</sup> century that we have the first recorded words of a language which can safely be recognized as Cornish.

Dark Ages seem to be a period of confusion for Cornwall. That is because of the failure of ancient historians to distinguish clearly between the Kingdom of Kernow (Cornwall) and that of Kernev (Cornouaille, Brittany).

Between AD 450 and AD 550 Christian missionaries from Ireland and Wales came to Cornwall leaving behind, as their memorials, saintly place-names such as St Columb, St Ives, for example. The Irish missionaries, moreover, left memorial inscriptions in OGHAM, the early form of Goidelic Celtic script.

Berresford Ellis (1980, 6) makes the following remark,

Although the Romans did not occupy Cornwall as intensively as they did other parts of Britain, they too, left traces of their activities, including several inscribed milestones. The native Cornish chieftains, during or immediately after the Roman occupation, were commemorated by numerous Christian memorial stones, inscribed in often called *Men Scryfa*- the written stone- which stands on the granite uplands of the Land's End peninsula.

By the seventh century Dumnonia had dissolved and the Saxons were pushed westward. The Saxons were soundly defeated by the Cornish in AD 721-722, but the weight of numbers was against the Cornish.

It was not until the year AD 936 that Athelstan, King of Wessex (925-940), drove the Cornish out of Exeter and defeated Hywel, the last independent King of Cornwall.

Berresford Ellis (1980, 7) comments that, 'Athelstan fixed the River Tamar as the boundary between his Saxon kingdom and the west wealhas. Cornwall was, in fact, marked on maps as west Wales until as late as the 17<sup>th</sup> century.'

In spite of the boundary that he had fixed, the Saxon king did not allow the Cornish an independent existence.

He started to eradicate the Celtic culture as a 'reform' and in this way remodelled Celtic monastic centres of learning along Saxon lines.

Ellis (1980,7) makes the following statement, 'It can safely be supposed that, in doing so, Athelstan destroyed a great many early Cornish manuscripts, accounting for the sad lack of literature from the period'.

It was during the struggle against Saxon domination the legend of Arthur was born. If he existed in fact, he was certainly a Cornish ruler who opposed the Saxons. Experts have identified various sites in Cornwall with places in the versions of the legend. Thirteenth and fourteenth century writers embellished the legend with tales of medieval knighthood and chivalry.

At the time of the Norman conquest in 1066, Cornwall was an earldom held by one Cadoc, obviously a native Cornishman. His arms were a black shield with golden roundels, which is the present coat of arms of the Duchy.

It would seem, therefore, that Cornwall was still fairly independent of the Saxons at this time. The Domesday Book shows that the Normans settled in Cornwall as baronial landowners. Speaking Norman-French, they interfered little with the Cornish language.

Mackinnon (2000,3) describes the absorption of Cornwall within the kingdom of England. Cornwall was regarded as a separately named province, with its own subordinated status and title under the English Crown, with separate ecclesiastical provision in the earliest phase.

There were subsequent constitutional provisions under the Stannary Parliament, which had its origins in provisions of 1198 and 1201 separating the Cornish and Devon. They develop into a separate parliament for Cornwall maintaining Cornish customary law. From 1337 Cornwall was further administered as a 'quasi-sovereign' royal Duchy in the later medieval period. (Mackinnon 2000, 3)

Payton (1996,91-93) 's comment applies,

The implications of these processes for the Cornish language was to ensure its integrity throughout this period. It was throughout most of the Middle Ages the general speech of essentially the whole population and all social classes. Over the greater part of the first millennium and a half of its separate and distinctive existence, the Cornish language functioned as the majority speech for all economic and social purposes in the life and society of Cornwall.

This was certainly the case throughout its early and middle period up to the end of the Middle Ages. Throughout this period it was strengthened by trade and commerce with Brittany, and the settlement in Cornwall of Bretons speaking a closely-related language and assimilating into the speech-community.

George (1986,67-70) describes the rapid change from the medieval period onwards, and language-shift from Cornish to English progressed through Cornwall.

He regards the numbers of speakers as coincident with the total population more or less between 1086 and the early thirteenth century. The numbers estimated between 15,000 and 20,000.

The peak was estimated in 1300 with 38,000 (73% of the total population of Cornwall at that time).

From this position the language then inexorably declined until its cessation as community speech in its last local areas at the end of the eighteenth century.

Kenneth (1986,23) writes on the fact that the Reformation which reduced considerably the traditional ties with Brittany,

During its middle period Cornish underwent changes in its phonology and morphology. An Old Cornish vocabulary survives from 1100....Place names elements from this early period have been 'fossilised' in eastern Cornwall as the language changed to English, as likewise did Middle Cornish forms in Mid-Cornwall, and Late Cornish forms in the west.

On the subject of surviving texts the author explains that these changes can be used to date the changeover from Cornish to English in local speechways, which together with later documentary evidence enables the areas within which Cornish successively survived to be identified.

During the Middle Ages under the Normans and their successors, the Cornish economy developed on its 'three staples of fish, tin and copper-and tin especially'.

Tin was specially regulate by the Stannary Parliament which had a far- reaching and independent legislative role in Cornwall. This endangered some stability for Cornwall and for its language.

Kenneth (1986, 3) makes the following statement,

The 'Prayer Book' rising of 1549 had an explicit language-dimension...  
Cornwall's efforts during the civil war may have won some degree of temporary local autonomy but were on the whole a period of destabilisation for the Cornish language

During this period of unrest and rising, the language was unrecognised by any official translation of liturgy or scripture rally.

On this subject, Berresford Ellis (1998, 73) comments,

The policy that led to this sudden relinquishment of Cornish is clear in the texts. In the parliament bill, the Annexation of Wales (1536), it was indicated that the intention was to 'extirpe', or eradicate, the customs of Wales which were not in conformity with those of England, one of these being the Welsh language, which was also referred to in the document. Certain documents of 1538 and 1540 reveal that the same intention was held towards Cornish.

In 1538, the Cornish language was still used in churches. The source reveals that John Veysey, bishop of Exeter, ordered that various central parts of the gospel should be taught in Cornish where English was not spoken.

This does not mean that English was spoken in many places in Cornwall, although it was known by many people as Andrew Borde points out (Ellis 1998, 59)

Items such as the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and The Ten Commandments were merely the simplest and most natural place to start teaching the language.

The policy evident in these sources was made law in 1549 with the passing of the Act of Uniformity in which it was decreed that English was to be used in all church services under the Crown, including those in Cornwall and Wales. This naturally 'led to the Cornish rebellion a few weeks later, revealing the depth of the resentment that was felt by the Cornish at the application of the policy of which the intention was to force them to give up their customs and learn English' (Lhuyd 1971, 253)

In Cornwall, the Bible and the material of the liturgy were apparently not translated into Modern Cornish. Cornish had disappeared from most of the duchy and was spoken only in the west beyond Truro. Similarly in 1602 Cornish had been driven into the extremities of Cornwall and that 'most of the inhabitants can speak no word of Cornish, but very few are ignorant of the English'. (Carew 1602, 127).

Carew, an Englishman who did not know Cornish, thought that it meant 'I can speak no Saxonage' (that is, English), but the sentence says more than that, that the speakers wanted to have nothing to do with English language and, by inference, those who spoke it.

From 1560 catechisms and sermons were allowed in Cornish where English was not understood, but these measures were insufficient to give a literary and religious base for the language, as was the case in Wales.



Kenneth (1986, 3) stresses the following,

Cornish versions of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Apostle's Creed date from these provisions. However, without the mainstays of a Cornish Bible and Prayer Book, standardisation of the language did not occur and thus a full literary corpus of Cornish of this period was not transmitted.

The military activity in Cornwall during the seventeenth century destabilised the Cornish-language speech-community. However, writers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries continued to develop the language as a literary medium, even though by this period it was in substantial decline demographically. The genres within which the language was developed extended to encompass biblical translation, technical writing, transcriptions of traditional oral lore, letters, verse, epitaphs, topography and history.

Despite there have been no translations into Cornish of the Prayer Book and the Bible with the sixteenth century Reformation, Cornish was used in church services for the Lord's Prayer, Creed and sermon. In the late seventeenth century these uses ceased.

In his *ARCHAEOLOGIA CORNU-BRITANNICA* OF 1790 Dr. William Price of Redruth provides a review of the language in its last vernacular phase, its last traditional writers such as Tonkin and Gwavas, and its last everyday users who outlived Dolly Pentreath.

There is no record of tradition of use of the language for worship in Cornish Methodism. By the mid-eighteenth century Cornish was evidently no longer seen by its last speakers as appropriate to the religious 'high domain' - even in Methodism. In the following century however, Jacob George, Methodist class leader of Mousehole, made a collection of surviving Cornish words and expressions in his area.  
(Kenneth 1986, 5).

Cornwall has traditionally been one of the more industrialised areas of Britain. The exhaustion of streambed tin and the change over to deep hard-rock mining, occurred while the language was still generally extant in West Cornwall. The Cornish language thus came to contribute greatly to the terminology of metalliferous and hard-rock mining, as this was the leading world area their development.

There is a remarkable controversy about whom was the very last Cornish speaker. As it is recorded, it was Dolly Pentreath of Mousehole, who died in 1777 and is popularly believed to have been 102 years old.

The language nearly died with the death of Dolly, but his strong, poetic lifting language, alien to English tongues, is undergoing a resurgence led by people across Cornwall and in the rest of the world where its recovery is being registered.

As we have seen, Cornish was the way that ordinary people spoke, the words they used and the way they used them- and it could differ from town to town and industry to industry. Whole separate vocabularies existing for fishing terms, farming and mining terms. The farming communities are the last bastion of the dialect.



Kenneth (1986,10) tells us,

The main corpus of written Late Cornish derives from this period. Its writers were educated men, and included skilled tradesmen, clergy, men of affairs, the successive generations of the Boson Family of Newlyn, lesser gentry, and professionals. They spanned the period of the later seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, and have provided not only original writings, collections of the writings of others and of oral Cornish lore, but also accounts of the state of the language and its areas of use in their day.

Economic change from the later eighteenth century brought about a process of emigration: especially as the fortunes of fishing, mining and agriculture fluctuated. The opening up of new mining areas abroad provided a strong pull factor: Cornish people were migrating to North America by the eighteenth century and there is evidence that these included Cornish speakers.

By the last years of the eighteenth century, Cornish speakers were only still to be found in the remote western coastal parishes between St Ives and Penzance. Even here the majority of the population had probably ceased to use the language, and it is remarkable that knowledge of the language persisted in family tradition throughout the nineteenth century.

On the subject of retention of the language Kenneth (1986, 11) explains,

Knowledge of Cornish did not cease with the passing of the last native speakers. Its knowledge and cultivation were, however, maintained for over a century by other means. Cornish words, phrases and formularies were passed on orally by ordinary Cornish working folk, and Cornish language studies were progresses by a number of academic scholars.

In 1859 Edwin Norris published his edition of the ORDINALIA as The Ancient Cornish Drama. Davies Gilbert published John Keigwin's version of PASCON AGAN ARLUTH in 1826, and the latter's translation of Jordan's GWPEANS AN BYS in 1828. The discovery of the 'Charter Fragment' by Jenner on the verso of the estate Charters from Mid Cornwall led to publication in 1877.

Kenneth gives us a list of the works published in those days (1986,11)

- ✦ In 1880 Miss M.A.Courtney and T. Quiller Couch published a GLOSSARY OF WORDS IN USE IN CORNWALL.
- ✦ Frederick Jago's ANCIENT LANGUAGE AND DIALECT OF CORNWALL appeared in 1882 and his ENGLISH-CORNISH DICTIONARY in 1887.
- ✦ Charles Rogers's VOCABULARY OF THE CORNISH LANGUAGE OF 1861.
- ✦ Rev. Robert William's LEXICON CORNU-BRITANNICUM of 1863.
- ✦ Collections and meanings of Cornish names were published by R.S. Chamock in 1870, and by Rev John Bannister in 1871.

These efforts were followed by Lach-Szysma's THE LAST LOST LANGUAGES OF EUROPE in 1890. This even contained some elementary lessons in Cornish.

References to, and knowledge of, the existence of the language was kept in public consciousness by popular folk literature such as the collections of folk tales by Hint and Batterell. Use could even be made of the language in other fiction such as children's stories.

Likewise local scholarship in parish histories and the like communicated further knowledge of the language. Recollection of the language had been perpetuated amongst ordinary Cornish working people, and the educated public had been reminded of the presence of the language around them. The grounds were thus fairly well set for revival. The 'apostolic succession' had been secured- the phase is Nance's- and recovery of the language was a possibility.

Hamilton (2001, 8) stresses the fact that during the 1800's 'vast numbers of Cornish folks headed for the New World to find new lives and make their fortunes.'

The Cornish were always explorers and navigators but it was not until after the Napoleonic wars ended in 1815 that they started to head for the New World in masse.

Much is known about the Cornish hard rock miners who sailed for the mines of Australia, America and South Africa.

In 1840's, when the potato famine hit Cornwall, Ireland and Scotland, the exodus became huge.

And by the 1870s and 1880s, when Australia and New Zealand were competing for new citizens and offering free passage as an incentive, whole communities were upping sticks for a new life.

Hamilton (2001, 28) recalls that Cornish came to Chile basically to work in mining, railways and ports. Most of these activities were based in northern Chile. Forty per cent of all the Chilean gross domestic product (GDP) is based on mining. The world's two largest copper mines are located there (Chuquibambilla and Escondida).

For nearly two centuries Cornwall has experienced close links with both the Australian and American continents (with America often referred to as the next parish).

With the foundation of the Australian colonies in the 1830s and the opening up of the American continent, a campaign of recruitment was initiated in the country: suitable employees from the Cornish miners.

Unfortunately, with the crash of the price of copper in 1866, little opportunity existed for alternative employment in the country, and many Cornishmen were forced to find work elsewhere.

Linguists became interested in the process of 'obsolescence' of the Cornish Language, which effectively occurred by 1800 AD, as we have seen before.

*Primitive Cornish* arose out of the southwest dialect of so-called *Late British*, the language of the inhabitants of England and Wales during and immediately after the Roman occupation of Britain.

Cornish was probably recognisable as a distinct speech from about 600 AD on, and with the ongoing British settlement of Brittany the speech of these two areas became identical. Breton and Cornish only became separate speeches from about the tenth century onwards, and as we shall see, they are still in some ways basically dialects of the same language today, given that people are beginning to learn Cornish again.

With the first substantial written records of Cornish in the tenth to twelfth centuries, Matthew Spriggs (1994) states that 'the language enters the period known as *Old Cornish*. *Middle Cornish*, roughly 1300-1600 AD, is the period of the major achievements of Cornish literature, the various Miracle Plays. *Late or Modern Cornish*, 1600-1800 AD, is the period when the language died out as the normal speech of West Cornwall.'

The first person to see that the language was dying was William Scawen. He was a savant, a not native speaker.

Scawen explains that Dolly Pentreath was not as is sometimes claimed the last monoglot speaker. This honour (apparently) goes to Chesten Marchant who died in 1676 at Gucithian.

Scawen presented ten reasons why he thought the language was dying out.

These included:

- 1- Lack of a distinctive Cornish alphabet.
- 2- Loss of contact between Cornwall and Brittany after the reformation.
- 3- Cessation of the miracle plays, performed until the 1620s.
- 4- Loss of ancient records with the burning of Restormel Castle in 1644 during the Civil War. Records from prior to the Creation of the Duchy of Cornwall were said to have been kept there.
- 5- The apathy of the Cornish themselves to their language.
- 6- The suppression of the Druids, by Christianity (a strange one that!)
- 7- Movement into Cornwall by monoglot English-speakers attracted by the tin mines and fisheries.
- 8- Failure of clergy to teach the Lord's Prayer in Cornish.
- 9- The local gentry did not encourage language maintenance.
- 10- Lack of a literature in the language. The people who knew the language did not write in it.

If we examine how similar Cornish really is to the other existing Celtic languages, we find that it shares 80% basic vocabulary with Breton, 77% with Welsh, 37% with Irish, and 36% with Scots Gaelic. Welsh shares 70% with Breton.

Spriggs (1994) makes the following statement,

We have some idea of the form of literary Cornish around 1500 AD because of the manuscript BEUNANS MERIASEK, 'The Life of Meriasck', a miracle play written, translated from Breton, or transcribed in 1504 by Dominus (Master) Rad Ton, probably short for Ricardus. The authorship (if that's what it was) of this piece shows the problems of documenting the last 300 years of Cornish as a living language.

Carew (1602, 127) stresses the question that 'the speakers wanted to have nothing to do with the English language.' Carew, though a Cornishman, identified with the English as he was an official in the English government.

In the commentary of Edward Lhuyd (1971, 253), a Welsh scholar from Oxford University who visited Cornwall in 1700 to study the language, commented that the warning was clear, 'if nothing were done for the language it would completely decay and soon cease to exist'. He mentions that it was still spoken around parts of the west of Cornwall.

In this period, at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, an effort was made by a number of Cornishmen concerned about the demise of their language to try to record some of the language while it still existed. They contributed such things as poems, letters, sentences in Cornish, short prose documents, translations of parts of the Bible, the Creed, lists of vocabulary, mottoes and so forth.

To these sources can be added the other sources for the Modern Period, BORDE'S JOTTINGS IN THE FYRST BOKE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE published in 1547, TREGEAR'S HOMOLIES (POST 1555), William Jordan's Miracle play, THE CREATION OF THE CREATION OF THE WORLD (1611), and the excellent short story CHEI A HORR, (C.1660). Edward Lhuyd's ARCHAEOLOGIA BRITANNICA (1707), which presented various aspects of grammar and much vocabulary, may also be added to this list.

The language refused however to die. If it is clear that in the 1730s and 1740s many people in the areas where it lingered in this last period knew how to speak it and to speak it fluently as an everyday language.

Richard Gendall (1993, 10) writes that 'in 1790 an important source for Cornish was published. William Pryce produced his ARCHAEOLOGIA CORNU-BRITANNICA using materials of several of the Cornishmen who recorded the language in the early eighteenth century. He presents examples of conversational Cornish, some poetry and prose and various assorted Cornish sentences as well as a large vocabulary.'

Gendall points out that scraps of the language lingered on into the late nineteenth century, passed down to children by their elders.

However, the language lived on its literature and at the turn of the century a group of Cornish enthusiasts formed a society to promote a movement to revive the language.

Whitaker (1990, 13) also underlines the fact that the events of the Tudor period, were, in fact, the cause of the eventual demise of the Cornish language. Although English had been exerting pressure on Cornish from the time of the loss of Cornish independence in the tenth century, the documents show that Cornish could survive in those days.

If it had not been for the Tudor administration on objecting to the Celtic peoples using their own languages, Cornish may even have survived until the present day as the traditional vernacular of Cornwall.

Jago (1993,4) explains that after the review made by a number of scholars of the historical documents, Cornish did not die out by itself throughout Cornwall as a result of gradual decline, but 'was deliberately extinguished throughout most of the duchy in accordance with the policy of the English government.'

As one writer, John Whitaker, heatedly avers as long ago as 1804,

English too was not desired by the Cornish... but as the case shows itself plainly to be, was forced upon Cornwall by the tyranny of England, at the time when the English language was yet unknown in Cornwall. (Whitaker 1804, 13).

While the historical sources indicate that the demise of Cornish throughout most of Cornwall was brought about by the deliberate policy of introducing English into Cornwall, Whitaker's appraisal presents only half the picture.

Wakelin (1975, 90-91) writes,

The period involved was not only the time of the Reformation, it was more specifically the time of the Counter-Reformation when England was in peril, in particular from Catholic Spain and France... the demise of Cornish throughout the majority of the duchy resulted from the exigencies of the period: the necessity of preserving England against threatened invasion over a period of several decades culminating in the Armada of 1588 which was very nearly successful.

The tendency of the Cornish, to hold to Catholicism, inevitably led in the circumstances to a desire of those in political power to extinguish the cause, the Cornish difference from England.

In 1904 Henry Jenner's brief introduction to Cornish, *A HANDBOOK OF THE CORNISH LANGUAGE*, was published and it formed the basis of the movement for some time. More work was done from 1909 when Henry Jenner and Robert Morton Nance devoted themselves to researching the language.

The revival movement underwent a change of direction in the twenties and thirties when Nance set about focusing on Middle or medieval Cornish as the basis of the revived language. This version of the language received its name of Unified Cornish from its 'unified' spelling system. This Cornish became the basis of the revival movement and many people were attracted to learning the language.

Due to the perceived difficulties with this version of the language, some revisions were carried out in 1980s based on the views of certain enthusiasts in the language. Changes were made chiefly to the sound system and in the spelling of Unified Cornish, so that a new spelling system was put in place.

This version of the language was at first called *PHONEMIC CORNISH*, not a particularly attractive name, so it is now usually called *COMMON CORNISH* OR 'KEMMYN'. Many people prominent in the revival movement of the day took up this version. It is taught by the Cornish Language Board (which sounds official but is a private organization). Others continued to hold to Unified Cornish and now teach it in the organization called *Agan Tavas* ('Our language'). Just to keep up with the times, some supporters of Unified have taken to calling their version *Standard Cornish*.

Spriggs (1994) outlines as follows,

On the other front, in the 1980s one group of people decided to abandon Nance's Cornish due to its difficulties, and set about reviving Cornish of the modern period, specifically Cornish as it was last spoken. This is the language preserved in the documents of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is specifically the dialect of Penwith and Krevrier, in the west of Cornwall. This version is variously known as Modern Cornish, Late Cornish, or KERNUACK, 'Cornish'.

Finally, in 1995 and 1997, various proposals were put forward with the purpose of enhancing the Unified Version with the result of another version of the language called Unified Cornish Revised, an amalgam of Cornish as seen in some texts of the Tudor period.

At present then, the language revival movement offers a choice of directions. However, these 'revived' versions make it possible for Cornish people, and whoever may be interested in the Cornish people and their language to obtain with relative ease some knowledge of the language, 'a language which is part of the Cornish people's age-old Celtic heritage.'

Gendall (1993, 1) explains,

Sociologically the language can be seen as retaining significance in spiritual sphere. The early collectors and revivalists have communicated the names and locations of persons who were able to produce examples of traditionally communicated Cornish-some may even have been 'semi-speakers' who had been able to understand the language in their youth at the turn of the eighteenth-nineteenth century



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## 9- Language revival. Introduction

In the Medieval period, the linguistic landscape was more local and more international than today. The vast majority of Europeans were farmers, serfs and peasants, who lived and died in the areas where they were born.

They spoke the local dialect of one of the great European language continua: Romance, Germanic, Celtic, Slavic, and Baltic. Language difference was not a major issue for most people because adjacent dialects in the continua would have been mutually comprehensible, and only on the cleavages between them would there have been difficulties of communication.

Thus, in the medieval context, the concept of linguistic minority had little meaning. There was no majority to define minority. Nor were rulers interested in the linguistic behaviour of their subjects. Territory changed hands frequently, by succession, marriage or conquest, and thus rulers almost always governed multilingual or multidialectal populations.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries aspects of the feudal system began to crumble in Western Europe. The idea of national identity took root.

At the same time, a number of European dynasties began to be aware of language issues and took pains to promote their own variety as the prestige language, the language of power. In France and Spain, the dialect of the capital was standardised and codified through the work of language academies set up for that purpose. In Britain the same process occurred, although without direct intervention by the monarchy or an academy.

The idea of the nation had two expressions in Europe, civic and ethnic. In the civic version, the boundaries of the state were set by dynastic expansion. The disparate groups that found themselves within the state boundaries fell under the nation building pressures of the state as it then attempted to weld them into a cohesive nation. This was the case in Spain, France and Britain. In the ethnic version, the leaders of a cultural and linguistic group with territory within which they would be the sole or dominant group.

Other ethnic nation-states were set up at the end of the First World War, as the victors upheld the right for group self-determination.

Nationalist ideology preached state homogeneity and independence. Domestic policies encouraged a single and exclusive loyalty a single language and culture.

A community is necessary in order to establish values. Values have no other rationale than usage and general agreement. (Saussure 2002, 112)

Apart from dictionary connotations which have applicability for language, the term revival is found in virtually every linguistic context.



Revival does not simply and solely mean a restoration to life after death; it can also refer to reawakening and renewal, to the restoration of vigour and activity, to a return to consciousness and to the arresting of decline or discontinuity (Edwards, 1995, 119).

Saussure(2002, 72-73) reflects on the fact of how people use language,

It is relevant to point out, for example that, linguistic changes do not correspond to generations of speakers...; people of all ages intermingle and communicate with one another... In addition, people use their language without conscious reflexion, being largely unaware of the laws which govern it. If they are not aware of these laws, how can they act to change them?. In any case, linguistic facts are rarely the object of criticism, every society being usually content with the language it has inherited

Nahir (1971, 107-23) points out that revival presupposes the existence of a language with which a group (or nation) identifies,

The will to renew the language is thus the first major factor... One presumes a specific interest, of course, but the language itself is clearly a desired marker of groupness, and possesses symbolic value in addition to its alleged communicative function.

What is the value of words?. Saussure(2002, 114) explains,

The content of a word is determined in the final analysis not by what it contains but by what exists outside it. As an element in a system, the word has not only a meaning but also- above all- a value.

Robin (1971, 123)'s comment applies,

Revival centrally involves social considerations... Revivalist intervention in the social fabric is in the service of group identity.

Saussure ( 2002, 126) stresses how language functions,

The whole set of phonetic and conceptual differences which constitute a language are thus the product of two kinds of comparison, associative and syntagmatic groups of both kinds are in large measure established by the language. This set of habitual relations is what constitutes linguistic structure and determines how the language functions.

The will to revive a language rests upon a desire to alter or reorientate group and individual identity. It follows that the strength and scope of that will are vitally important in revival efforts, and the leaders of these typically devote considerable attention to the mobilization of public opinion.

Moran (1900, 257-72) writes,

The main difficulty here was neatly captured, at the height of the Irish revival effort: without scholars (the revival) cannot succeed; with scholars as leaders it is bound to fail. Eighty years later it was concluded that 'the lack of will to stop shrinking in an intrinsic characteristic of a shrinking language community'.

It is a problem that is related to the two powerful factors already discussed: first, the contract between unequal social-political systems and second, the economic and social changes produced by this contact. Words have been allotted the task and the power of representing thought (Foucault 1994, 78)

Fennell (1981, 30) adds to this question,

It could be argued that every language revival effort presupposes an unjustified incursion of one language upon another; on the other, if it were allowed that a language had declined more because of the benign neglect of the larger system, and the relative acquiescence of the smaller (as has sometimes been claimed in the context of the British Isles)-and not because of some more blatant or outrageous suppression (Tsarist Russification policies, say)-well, this would still not necessarily mean an easier course for any planned revival.

Edwards (1995, 121) makes us recall the case of Irish and Celtic literature,

Recall Matthew Arnold's deep concern for Celtic literature and for a rapid disappearance of spoken Welsh and the full assimilation of all Celtic populations.

The study of languages safely dead, or on the way to extinction, or whose remaining speakers are at some remove, is altogether a neater scholastic exercise that is actually coming to grips with 'breathing speakers'.

However, most of the difficulties discussed here have to do with revival in the sense Nahir (1971, 294) has described: 'An attempt to turn a language with few or no surviving native speakers back into a normal means of communication'.

Edwards (1995, 123) proposes a rough classification of revival scenarios,

- 1- a language with few or no speakers, where no written or taped records exist;
- 2- the same, except that some written material exists;
- 3- the same, except that written and taped material exists;
- 4- a language with some native speakers remaining, but where none are monolingual;
- 5- the same, but where some at least are monolingual;
- 6- the same, but where monolingualism and the normal family transmission of the original language occur;
- 7- the same, but where substantial numbers of speakers are monolingual, where there is language transmission, and where the original variety retains important domains (especially outside the home and family).

Saussure (2002, 131) makes the following statement,

Sometimes the causes of sound changes are sought in the general state of a nation at a given period. Languages go through periods of relatively greater upheaval at certain times. It is claimed that these periods correspond to periods of historical upheaval, and so a connexion is established between political instability and linguistic instability.

The term revival is really all that is necessary to cover a variety of situations which, do not require an endless debate.

The whole question of revival, as Edwards (1995, 124) admits, 'is inextricably associated with what might be termed the internal manifestations of external influence'.

But, at the end of the day, it is ordinary people who will live with the decisions and processes, who will ultimately be the assessors and judges.

And this the link between language and knowledge opens up a whole historical field that had not existed in previous periods. Something like a history of knowledge becomes possible. (Foucault 1994, 87)

Let's take the case of Chorote in Salta. Chorote seemed thus doomed to extinction that would result, of course, in the extinction of the group's culture. However, a new 'development' of the language reversed the seemingly inevitable fate. An Anglican missionary, Mr. Drayson, a linguist and a translator, devoted himself to the task of giving Chorote a written code.

The arduous task- elaboration of a phonetic system prior to transferring the oral language to writing- was started in 1976. The Roman alphabet was used and a collection of stories on the life of Jesus was the first book published in Chorote in 1980. That was, of course, a transcendent step to the preservation of the culture, on the one hand, and to the 'rebirth' of the language, on the other. The implications are many but probably the most important is the groups' feeling but now Chorote is on a one-to-one level with Spanish, at least in some respects. The representation that what is written is what matters is deeply rooted in the people. If Chorote is written, it matters, it is important. This naturally led the group to attach higher valued to their identity. Needless to say, the process is far more complex than it seems but it is exemplary- languages can and must be saved, people's pride and self-respect are saved along with them.

This new state of affairs was furthered by the government's decision to teach both Spanish and Chorote at school. The fact that Spanish speaking teachers have to learn the language is an obvious drawback to the project, because their representations of the 'foreign' culture are constructed from their own 'culture' representations, but a big step ahead. At present, it appears that Chorote people are being trained to become teachers, a change all for the better. Inevitably, as it has always been the case, one language will dominate over the other, depending on people's needs. Will Spanish prevail? This far from being a fixed unchanging choice, even for the same individual; it will very likely vary with age or occupation, among other reasons. Also, the 'bilingual school' system will have to be adjusted in the future but is unquestionably a great step taken towards integration (as distinct from assimilation) into a vaster, more generous culture which is not the addition of existing cultures their metamorphosis achieved through mutual respect and cooperation.

In the medieval context, the concept of linguistic minority had little meaning. There was no majority to define minority. Nor were rulers interested in the linguistic behaviour of their subjects. Territory changed hands frequently, by succession, marriage or conquest, and thus rulers almost always governed multilingual or multidialectal populations.

At the same time, a number of European dynasties began to be aware of language issues and took pains to promote their own variety as the prestige language, the language of power. In France and Spain the dialect of the capital was standardised and codified through the work of language academies set up for that purpose. In Britain the same process occurred, although without direct intervention by the monarchy or an academy. An increase in speakers of the prestige variety was inevitable, if only among the wealthier classes that aspired to gain entry to the power elites.

Other factors contributed to the standardisation and proliferation process. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a growing desire for direct access to the Bible in both protestant and Roman Catholic camps. This prompted translations of the Bible into the vernacular, inevitably the prestige language of the capital. Printers adopted standardised languages with enthusiasm.

The process was, of course, circular and printers contributed to standardisation of a 'natural' language on 'national' territory by selling a Bible in that language across the territory. In the ethnic version, the leaders of a cultural and linguistic group aimed to provide the group with territory within which they would be the sole or dominant group.

In the twentieth century, the massive movements of political refugees in the aftermath of war and economic migrants in periods of prosperity mixed populations wholesale and introduced further linguistic complexity. By the end of the century, few European states were without significant allochthonous minorities. The European 'nation-states' never achieved complete congruency of state and nation.

The era of nationalism thus created the concept of 'linguistic minority' as an inevitable corollary to the desire for national cohesion and homogeneity. Where nationalist ideology was strong, 'linguistic minority' was not simply a concept but also a 'problem'.

The right to use one's own language in public space is rarely challenged where this use is unofficial. Commercial dealings, artistic representations and intra-community meetings can all take place in 'minority' languages in most European states.

Opening up space for regional and minority languages in the public domain is not easy, because the acquisition of linguistic rights by some means the perceptions of loss of rights by others. This is the case in Wales where the Welsh Language Act (1993) has led to a reintroduction of Welsh in the public sphere. Much employment now hinges on bilingual competence, as employers need to employ bilinguals to comply with the provisions of the Act. As a result of centuries of active discouragement by the government in London, Welsh disappeared in many communities. Much of Wales, particularly in the old industrial heartland and the Marches (border area), is monolingual English-speaking.

The problem should resolve itself as all Welsh schoolchildren now study Welsh.

The state should be prepared to employ the language of the minority once that group has the numbers that make us practicable. The other side of the coin is the right to understand. One cannot join a speech community simply by an act of will.

The acquisition of a second language demands commitment, effort and years of apprenticeship.

There is a belief that claims for the restitution of cultural and linguistic rights are only a precursor to demands for autonomy and independence. (As groups which sought and achieved devolution of political power.)



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## 10- Language revival and the future THE CASE OF CORNISH

### INTRODUCTION

Why do the Cornish want to revive their language? The language works as a differentiator, integrator and at the same time, as power constructor.

The recovery of original languages is a worldwide movement in different social scopes that want political vindication. A clear example are the ethnic **Wichi** communities or **Chorote** in the north of Salta, (as we have seen in Chapter 9), among others, through linguistic differentiation from other groups, as raising as a different cultural community.

Appeal has also been made to the hypothesis of an earlier linguistic substratum. On this hypothesis, certain changes are due to an indigenous population absorbed by newcomers. Thus the difference between Provençal and French is held to be explained by reference to a different proportion of indigenous Celtic population in the two areas of Gaul. A similar theory has been applied to the different dialects of Italian, which are attributed to Ligurian, Etruscan, etc influences, according to the region in question. (Saussure 2002, 150-151).

As we have seen, the process of decline was considerably hastened by Cornwall's early industrialization and the inter-penetration of a previously autonomous speech community and adventitious economic enterprises reinforcing a new language economic change.

Absolute stability in a language is never found. All parts of the language are subject to change, and any period of time will see evolution of greater or smaller extent... The linguistic river never stops flowing (Saussure 2002, 139).

The beginnings of the revival pre-1914 produced a number of persons able to use the language-especially in writing. The inter-war years witnessed the formation of key institutions for the revival (THE GORSEDD, THE OLD CORNWALL SOCIETIES) and the establishment of classes both in Cornwall and in London.

This is because languages evolve in accordance with the effects of migrations, victories and defeats, fashions, and commerce, but not under the impulsion of any historicity possessed by the languages themselves. They do not obey any internal principle of development; they simply unfold representations and their elements in a linear sequence. If there does exist a time for languages that is positive, then it must not be looked for outside them, in the sphere of history, but in the ordering of their words, in the form left by discourse. (Foucault 1994, 91).

George (1986, 2-6) comments on the subject,

Many journals gained impetus, too. After the dislocations of the Second World War, the revival continued with Nance's revision of Jenner's original Cornish, which came to be called Unified (**Unys**). The developing needs of the language grew beyond its patronage of THE GORSEDD and a Language Board was established in 1967 whose constitution was later reformulated to make it representative of the body of speakers and users.



Disquiet with Nance's system was being voiced by the early 1980s. This was addressed linguistically by Dr. Ken George with regard to spelling, pronunciation and lexical problems. Also, at this time Richard Gendall was developing his ideas of basing the revived language upon its later vernacular and written forms.

So in every language there are productive words and sterile words. But the proposition vary. What this comes down to is the distinction previously drawn between 'lexicological' and 'grammatical' languages. In Chinese, the majority of words are unsegmentable; whereas in artificial languages they are nearly all segmentable. An Esperantist is fully at liberty to construct new words on any given root. (Saussure 2002, 165)

George (1986, 4) adds,

These were the seeds of the 'tripartite' split between: Unified Cornish, which was based upon the late medieval classic texts; Gendall's late (Modern Cornish), and those who adopted Ken George's version of Common Cornish (Kemmyrn)... The Language Board adopted Kemmyrn.

The language controversies appear to have had a stimulating effect upon public awareness of the language and have attracted a new generation of learners. Linguistic research has been greatly stimulated in all three varieties, and has output of the language resource publications and general reading material. The bulk of this publication has been in Kemmyrn, the language community which has produced most language activity and supporting institutions in terms of volume.

The proposition is to language what representation is to thought, at once its most general and most elementary form, since as soon as it is broken down we no longer encounter the discourse but its elements, in the form of so much scattered raw material. Below the proposition we do indeed find words, but it is not in them that language is created. (Foucault 1994, 92)

George (1986, 5) outlines as follows,

In the revival, its early use was chiefly written and from the beginning a conscious effect to produce a quality literature is evident. This has continued to strengthen from the pre-1939 period- as has the resolve to ensure Cornish as a spoken language.

Saussure's (2002, 139) comment applies here,

It is true that this uninterrupted evolution is often hidden from us by the attention paid to the corresponding literary language. A literary language is superimposed upon the vernacular, which is the natural form a language takes, and it is subject to different conditions of existence. Once a literary language is established, it usually remains fairly stable, and tends to perpetuate itself unaltered. Its dependence on writing gives it special guarantees of conservation. Hence this is not the place to look if we wish to see how variable natural languages are when free from literary regimentation.

For years Jenner hoped to assemble a college or GORSEDD OF BARDS like the ones in Wales and Brittany and his plans finally came to fruition in 1928 when the first GORSETH KERNOW was held at Boscowen Un.



As Edwards (1996, 22) has pointed out,

For many years the Gorsedd and The Federation of Old Cornwall Societies were the main institutional support for the Revival, the leading lights of which, after the death of Jenner in 1934, were Robert Norion Nance, and A.S.D. Smith.

Saussure (2002, 167) writes on the role of the subject in the evolution of language,

Nothing enters the language before having been tried out in speech. All evolutionary phenomena have their roots in the linguistic activity of the individual.

In 1967 The Gorsedd and The Federation of Old Cornwall Societies joined forces to form the Cornish Language Board which now publishes books and holds examinations in three grades to encourage learners.

But there is one particular interest to the linguist. In spite of the enormous number of analogical chances over the course of several centuries, there is a very high survival rate for the linguistic elements involved: they are merely distributed differently... A language is a dress patched with pieces of its own material. Four fifths of French comes from Proto-Indo-European, if one thinks of the substance from which French sentences are composed. (Saussure 2002, 170)

Jenner's first work on restoring the language was first published in 1904 as *A Handbook of the Cornish Language*. It formed an effective basis for language revival and learning.

George (1986, 6) comments on the back cover,

There has never been a time when there has been no person in Cornwall without a knowledge of the Cornish language.

Jenner approached this work from the background of a previous study of Manx.

There had been some resistance to the acceptance of Cornwall as a Celtic nation with the loss of the language as a living everyday speech.

This was to be reversed at the CAERNAR FON Celtic Congress in 1904 when Jenner spoke to the theme of 'Cornwall-a Celtic nation'. He successfully vindicated his point.

Man receives from nature the material to make signs, and those signs serve him first of all as a means of reaching agreement with other men as to the choice of those that shall be retained, the values that they shall be recognized as possessing, and the rules for employing them. (Foucault 1994, 106).

Unified Cornish underwent perceived difficulties. Changes were made chiefly to the sound system and in the spelling of Unified Cornish, so that a new spelling system was put in place.

This version of the language was at first called Phonemic Cornish, not a particularly attractive name, so it is now usually called Common Cornish. Many people prominent in the revival movement of the day took up this version while others continued to hold the Unified Cornish. Just to keep up with the times, some supporters of Unified have taken to calling this version Standard Cornish'. (Edwards 1986, 8)

Foucault (1994, 106) remarks,

The first form of agreement consists in selecting the vocal signs (which are easier to recognize from a distance and the only ones that can be used when it is dark), the second in composing, in order to designate representations still left without signs, sounds close to those indicating neighbouring representations.

On the other front, in the 1980s one group of people decided to abandon Nance's Cornish due to its difficulties, and set about reviving Cornish of the modern period, specifically Cornish as it was last spoken. This is the language preserved in the documents of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is specifically the dialect of Penwith and Kevrier, in the west of Cornwall.

This version is variously known as Modern Cornish, Late Cornish, or even ungrammatically as KERNUACK, 'CORNISH'. There are still a minority who continue to use Nance's Unified Cornish, which was based on the extant texts of the Middle Cornish period (AD 1200-1600). So this group have recently adopted a modified spelling system, as laid out by Williams in 'CORNISH TODAY' (Annear 2002, 3)

On this subject Foucault (1994, 112) adds,

As though the spatial arrangement of the language prescribed the law of time, as though their particular language did not come to men via history, but that, inversely, their only means of access to history was via their system of signs. It is in the nexus of representation, words, and space (the words representing the space of representation, and in turn representing themselves in time) that the destiny of peoples is silently formed.

By far the largest and currently most successful group of Cornish speakers who continue to use Middle Cornish as a basis for their form of the language that altered Nance's Unified Cornish to reflect a more precise pronunciation and to learn phonetic spelling. It is called KERNEWEK KEMMYN (Common Cornish) or Simply Kemmyn. Although used by the vast majority of Cornish speakers are learners in Cornwall, KEMMYN is most certainly not without its ardent criticism.

George (1986,7) makes the following proposal,

In reality, to revive a dead language in this way without recourse to native speakers is a very difficult task indeed, so all three forms have their advantages and disagreement. To be optimistic, it could be considered that Cornish is in a strong position and survived this split. All three forms now coexist uneasily alongside each other. Hopefully though, the situation will one day be resolved.

As Foucault (1994, 112) has pointed out,

With alphabetic writing, in fact, the history of men is entirely changed. They transcribed in space not their ideas but sounds, and from those sounds they extract the common elements in order to form a small number of unique signs whose combination will enable them to form all possible syllables and words.

There is no more effective force in the presentation of one's nation and country to the world at large, and the demand for national recognition, than the possession and use of a native language.

It was the emergence of a race relations agenda that first sought to legally evaluate and qualify UK identities. Although the 1976 Race Relations Act is a less than ideal framework for resolving the competing interests of different groups (its original purpose was to protect new immigrant groups) it has since been used as a blunt instrument to deal with a much wider range of socio-political issues; including the rights of long-established groups. Unfortunately, the Act's focus on 'racial groups' as the category for analysis gives rise to inappropriate conceptual barriers. This is particularly so when it comes to ill-informed analysis of the Cornish situation.

John Angarrack (2003, 58), parent and legal action co-ordinator writes, 'Section 3(1) of the Act states that the term 'racial group' means a group of persons defined by reference to colour, race, nationality or ethnic or national origins, and references to a person's racial group refers to any racial group into which he falls'

The collective of UK identity agencies therefore works within the framework of what are called racial groupings; so that to secure specific recognition and right groups must necessarily be classified a 'racial group'.

However, it is awkward and unfamiliar to think of the English, Scots, Welsh and Cornish as different 'races', but that is essentially what the Act commands.

There can be no disputing the fact that, since the earliest records of the 12<sup>th</sup> century ruler Reginald to the 21<sup>st</sup> century UK Census, Cornish people have exhibited the qualities of, and been identified and treated as, a non-English ethnic group.

Although this would go some way to fulfilling the Act's ethnic origins criteria, what opportunities exist for obtaining recognition via national origins?

The simple fact is that from the medieval writings of royal historian Polydore Vergil to the 20<sup>th</sup> century legal assertions of the Duchy of Cornwall itself, Cornwall has in many respects exhibited the qualities of, and been identified and treated as, a non-English version.

In the light of the protections afforded by the Race Relations Act; and to the extent that there is evidence to show that the Cornish are today subject to varying degrees of discrimination in the twin fields of cultural funding and educational provision, these normally suppressed socio-political features of Cornwall assume a new importance (John Angarrack (2003, 58)

## 11- History: what type of Cornish was finally chosen?

### CHRONOLOGY OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN CORNISH LANGUAGE REVIVAL

- 1901- I Duncombe Jewell secretary Cowethas Keltor Kernuak
- 1903 (The Celtic Cornish Society)
- 1904 Henry Jenner (Gwas Myghal) publishes 'A Handbook of the Cornish language'. Uses a Late Cornish spelling Spelling.  
Cornwall admitted to Celtic Congress- Jenner's 'Caernarfon Telegramme'.
- 1906 Robert Morton Nance (Mordon) moves from Wales and settles at Nancledra.
- 1909 Jenner retires and settles at Hayle.
- 1920 First Old Cornwall Society at St. Ives.
- 1924 Federation of Old Cornwall Societies established.
- 1925 Federation establishes periodical 'Old Cornwall'
- 1928 Gorseth Kernow inaugurated at Boscawen-Un.
- 1929 Robert Morton Nance published 'Cornish for All' in 'Unified' Middle Cornish spelling.
- 1931 A.S.D. Smith (Caradar) publishes 'Lessons in Spoken Cornish'
- 1932 Gorseth receives first 'language bards' by examination.
- 1933 Cornish language classes established by Old Cornwall Federation in seven locations.  
First church service in Cornish since late 17<sup>th</sup> Cent, at Towednack.  
Tyr ha Tavas (Land and Language) youth movement founded by Dr. E.H. Hambly.
- 1933-6 A.S.D. Smith resident in Cornwall.
- 1934 Nance and Smith publish 'English-Cornish Dictionary' 'Kernow' magazine in Cornish started. Continued until 1936.  
Death of Jenner.
- 1935 First radio broadcast.
- 1938 Nance publishes 'Cornish-English Dictionary'
- 1939 A.S.D. Smith publishes 'Cornish Simplified'.
- 1949 Tregear Homilies discovered.
- 1950 Death of A.S.D. Smith.
- 1951 Publication of Smith's 'Trystan hag Ysolt' Mebyon Kernow founded.
- 1952 'New Cornwall' magazine started. Continued to 1973. 'An Lef Kernewek' (The Cornish Voice) founded. Continued to 1983.
- 1959 Death of Robert Morton Nance.
- 1961 P.A.S. Pool publishes 'Cornish for Beginners'
- 1962 Cornish Hymn Book and Psalter published.
- 1967 Kesva an Tavas Kernewek- The Cornish Language Board established.
- 1972 Institute of Cornish Studies established at Pool.
- 1974 Bishop of Truro's Advisory Group on Worship in Cornish.
- 1976 'An Gannas' (The Ambassador) magazine established Now continues as principal organ in Kemmyn.
- 1978 First Lowender Peran Festival. Cornish Dictionary published.

- 1979 Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek (Cornish Language Fellowship) and Dalleth (Beginning) established:
- 1984 State of Language Report.
- 1985 GCE scheme in Cornish at Pool. Continued to 1996 as GCSE.
- 1986 Ken George publishes 'The Pronunciation and Spelling of Revived Cornish'- precipitates Tripartite Split: Nance's Unified Cornish maintained by Agan Tavas. Richard Gendall researches and proposes Late Cornish.
- 1987 Language Board adopts Kernewek Kemmyn as standard- but undertakes to maintain examination system in Unified.  
An Garrack (The Rock) bi-monthly magazine in Late/Modern Cornish established.
- 1987 Cussell an Tavaz Kernuack (The Cornish Language Council) established as organising body for Late/Modern Cornish.  
'Delyow Derow' (Oak Leaves) literary magazine edited by Richard Jenkin.
- 1992 'An Gowsva' (The Talking Shop) twice yearly bilingual magazine in Unified Cornish established.
- 1995 Cornish sub-committee established of UK Committee of the European Bureau for Lesser- Used Languages.
- 1997 Keskerth Kernow (Cornwall Marches On!) commemorative march of Rising: St Keverne to Blackheath.
- 1999 Commemorative march of 1549 Prayer Book Rising.
- 2000 GOSW commissions An Academic Study on Cornish. Edward Lhuyd in Cornwall tercentenary.

According to the CORNISH LANGUAGE CENTRE, the periods of the language are divided as follows:

**To 800 AD British (evolving Dummonian dialects)**

**800 AD-1200 AD Old Cornish.**

**1200 AD-1575 AD Middle Cornish- A Golden Age of Cornish.**

**1575 AD-1800 AD Late Cornish.**

**1800 AD-1928 AD. THE EMBERS**

**1928 AD Present The Ongoing Revival.**

In the same way, though the analogy is inverted, language sets itself the task of restoring an absolutely primal discourse, but it can express that discourse only by trying to approximate to it, by attempting to say things about it that are similar to it, thereby bringing into existence the affinity of adjacent and similar fidelities of interpretation. (Foucault 1994, 41)

As I have pointed out before: Henry Jenner is widely acknowledged as 'the father of the Cornish revival', but Robert Morton Nance (Mordon) was undoubtedly the leading figure in the first half of the twentieth century.

George (1986, 8) outlines as follows,

Jenner had based his revival of Cornish 'where it had left off', i.e. Late or Modern Cornish. His ideas on spelling and pronunciation had been influenced by Lhuyd and the tradition of speaking Cornish of its last semi-speakers.

On the subject of language Saussure (2002, 19) writes, 'A language accumulates in our brain only as the result of countless experiences. Finally, it is speech which causes a language to evolve.'

Saussure (2002, 33) goes on explaining,

A language is a system based upon psychological contrasts between these auditory impression tells us nothing about what a language is. A language is a system based upon psychological contrasts between these auditory impressions, just as a tapestry is a work of art based upon the visual contrast between strands of different colours. What is important for an analysis is the effect of those contrasts, and not the processes by which the colours were obtained in the first place.

Together with Jenner, Nance founded the first Old Cornwall Society at St Ives in 1920. By 1925 the society had grown into a federation throughout Cornwall, and the first issues of its journal OLD CORNWALL, which continues today, spelt out a radical 'gathering of the fragments of the past' in order to initiate a forward-looking agenda whereby Cornwall's national identity, culture and language could be secured in the context of what really amounted to a political agenda and an appeal to youth and the coming generation.

At any given period, however far back in time we go, a language is always an inheritance from the past. The initial assignment of names to things, establishing a contract between concepts and sound patterns, is an act we can conceive in the imagination, but no one has ever observed it taking place. The idea that it might have happened is suggested to us by our keen awareness of the arbitrary nature of the linguistic sign (Saussure 2002, 71-72)

George (1986, 10) stresses this point,

The earliest revivalists, such as Lach-Szyrma, Jenner initial speaking ability in Cornish- but they certainly wrote in it, surviving publications and letters attest to it. However, Jenner and Nance seem to have acquired speaking ability before the First World War. The inter-war period witnessed a substantial development in that this early phase of revival took speaking ability seriously.

On the other hand, Saussure (2002, 72) believes that the language is inherited from the past,



In fact, no society has ever known its language to be anything other than something inherited from previous generations, which it has no choice but to accept. That is why the question of the origins of the language does not have the importance generally attributed to it. It is not even a relevant question as far as linguistics is concerned. The sole object of study in linguistics is the normal, regular existence of a language already established. Any given linguistic state is always the product of historical factors, and these are the factors which explain why the linguistic sign is invariably that is to say why it is immune from arbitrary alteration.

There had been criticism of the deficiencies in Middle Cornish being supplied by Welsh and Breton cognates in Unified Cornish. These, and the lack of a 'down to earth' literature, were criticisms made by Tim Saunders in 1972. 'In fact the language exists first of all, in its raw and primitive being, in the simple, material form of writing, a stigma upon things, a mark imprinted across the world which is a part of its most ineffaceable forms' (Foucault 1994, 42). The academic world has always been cautious of the revived language. Academic study of Cornish-perforce in institutions out with Cornwall-had concentrated upon the medieval language. In 1972 Cornwall gained its own research institution, The Institute for Cornish Studies. Its first director, Charles Thomas, regarded Nance's 'Unified' as never having been sufficiently explained, neologisms as insufficiently using place names and dialect resources, and the pronunciation based upon shaky models. 'But in fact values remain entirely a matter of internal relations, and that is why the link between idea and sound is intrinsically arbitrary' (Saussure 2002, 111).

The question of how revived Cornish should be spelt is not merely a matter of orthography alone. It is also, in theory at least, a question of pronunciation. Unified Cornish was based on Middle Cornish pronunciation, but the pronunciation of Cornish words surviving in dialect and place-names was Late Cornish which was thought to be radically different from Middle Cornish.

Given that Late Cornish was closer to our own time than Middle Ages, some people recommended Late Cornish as a basis for the revival.

Jenner and Nance realized that the differences between Middle and Late Cornish were largely matters of spelling.

The modern proponents of both Middle and Late Cornish believed that the two forms of the language were radically different and that any attempt to amalgamate them would result in an 'unreal alloy with no historical basis' (R. Gendall). Middle Cornish and Late Cornish shade into one another seamlessly because they are the same language.

The alternatives introduced during the 1980's were intended to give Cornish speakers more authentic pronunciations. The new departures of the 1980's, for example, the difference between open and closed *o* (i.e. *and*) and the distinctions between half-long and short vowels are not really attempted by anybody. Neither has any basis in traditional Cornish, either Middle or Late.

*The only real distinction in pronunciation in the revived language is between those who use pre-occlusion (e.g. pedn and tabm), and those who do not. In traditional Cornish, this was a distinction of dialect, not of period. (Williams 1998, 30)*

Since Unified Cornish is the basis of all forms of revived Cornish, any attempt to reform the language should start with Unified.



When resuscitating a language we cannot do anything but use a regularised variant of the spelling of the texts. Unified Cornish did this, basing itself on the 15<sup>th</sup> century (ORDINALIA and PASCON AGAN ARLUTH).

It is clear also that an unhistorical spelling system encourages revivalists to take liberties with the language in other ways. Indeed its very artificiality has already subverted the revival.

The 'phonemic' spelling is adopted initially because it is perceived to be authentic. According to Jim Thompson, a linguistic that sent an e-mail to me in 2001/28/7, there are no fewer than 'seven' varieties of Cornish orthography to choose from:

- 1-Old Cornish
- 2- Middle Cornish
- 3- Late Cornish.
- 4-Unified Cornish (Morton Nance's Kernewek Unyes)
- 5- Modern Cornish (Gendall's Curnoack Nowedga)
- 6- Common Cornish (George's Kernewek Kemmyn)
- 7- Unified Cornish Revised (William's Kernowek Unys Amendys)

The first three orthographies, Old Cornish, Middle Cornish, and Late Cornish are not living languages. Their orthographies are not regular or standardized. They have limited vocabularies which are insufficient for modern use. Instead they have been mined as source material. It must be assumed that any word found in any of these varieties is a legitimate Cornish word-whether this word was a borrowed word from Latin, French or English, this is because these first three orthographies were written by people for whom Cornish was a first language.

Unified Cornish, as Jim Thompson states, is *'the cornerstone upon which the Cornish revival was based, and was for seventy years the standard; it has thus benefit of 70 years of use and normalization of the orthography'*.

Middle Cornish is widely accepted to be Cornish as used at its height of refinement as a native tongue.

In the 1980s, Ken George invented a new orthography based on a computer database using suspect mathematical formulae. This form of Cornish was (according to Thompson) *'adopted by the Cornish Language Board. In my opinion this version will die a natural death, and many who have learned it are switching to other orthographies'*.

Nicholas Williams, has another vision of the language being revived. He is a tutor at Cambridge University in communications and languages. He sent to me several mails on the subject of Cornish revival. I would like here to quote some of his views,

As I related earlier the Cornish language, as such, was an ancient Celtic language based in Gaelic. I believe the language had its roots in ancient Briton (France). The Cornish Gaelic was a form of early French as spoken in Briton, Normandy and possibly into the Northern Basque region in Northern France, to this day many Cornish words are shared with the Northern French dialect.' (Williams 29/7/2001 [obsnew@optusnet.com.au](mailto:obsnew@optusnet.com.au))

Williams presumes that the language being revived today is 'what remains of a very ancient language that pre-dates the Roman Empire by many centuries.'

He adds,

It was the language spoken by the Druids and you have most probably seen and studied the many monuments and stories they have left us. The language has been revived in recent times by the Bards (the ancient story tellers) of Cornwall but the language itself, like Latin in the English language, has been certain words, phrases and phonetics drafted into everyday use by the Cornish people who, as you would have noticed, often speak with a peculiar accent which accentuates the 'r' in particular.

Fair enough, the remnants of the Cornish language is the reason therefore that (usually older) people from the West County of Britain (that is Somerset, Devon and Cornwall) all accentuate the 'r' and speak it in a very soft rolling tongue.

Dr. Nicholas Williams agreed with other revivalists that Unified Cornish needed revision and modernisation, hence the Unified Cornish revised. With the publication of GERLYVER SAWSNEK-KERNEWEK or English- Cornish Dictionary with more than 24,000 headwords (including scientific, slang and even profanities which are all part of a living language), and quarterly revisions of this dictionary available online, and the upcoming publishing of The New Testament in Kernewek this orthography is set to be the successor or rather the continuation of Nance's Unified Cornish and Late Cornish into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Dissatisfaction with the spelling and pronunciation of revived 'Unified' Cornish motivated Ken George to propose a reform on phonetic lines to regularise the pronunciation as it may have been c.1500. As I have mentioned before, his work was computer assisted and was published in 1986. George placed his ideas before the Language Board, and a general meeting of all interested parties and individuals within and outwith Cornwall was convened in St Austell. It recommended that The Language Board examine the case for reform and feasibility of the proposals. 'For it is characteristic of symbols that they are never entirely arbitrary. They are not empty configurations. They show at least a vestige of natural connexion between the signal and its signification' (Saussure 2002, 68).

In July 1987 The Language Board accepted George's proposals on a vote of 14 to 1. The decision could be said to reflect the wishes of the community of speakers and users of Cornish as The Board had been restructured in 1985 with a majority (14 out of 20) of its members being elected by COWETHAS AN YETH KERNEWEK, the speakers' organization established in 1979. (George 1986, 13)

Common Cornish or KERNEWEK KEMMYN resulted then from this moves. George's reaction to the language debate and his later ideas have been presented in 1995 as 'Which base for Revived Cornish?' as well as in grammars and dictionaries.

These far-reaching changes in the sound system and written acceptance of the language were not universally accepted. Those who preferred to remain within the Nancean 'Unified' system, such as Peter Pool, Richard Jenkin, Ray and Denise Chubb used an existing association to institutionalise their preferred language-variety: AGAN TAVAS (OUR LANGUAGE). Its membership was originally for fluent speakers and by invitation only. It was

reformed in 1990 and made open to all who supported the continuity of Nance's 'Unified' variety (Unys in Cornish)

The arbitrary signs of language and writing provide men with the means of ensuring the possession of their ideas and of communicating them to others in the manner of an inheritance, constantly augmented with the new discoveries of each age; and the human race, considered from its origin, appears to the eyes of the philosopher as an immense whole that itself possesses, like every individual, its childhood and its progress. (Foucault 1994, 113)

This was not the only fallout for these events. Richard Gendall had been a longstanding figure in the movement: as a teacher of the language and author of an innovative and effective textbook, songwriter and scholar. His reaction to this language reform was to return to Jenner's original basis of Modern or Late Cornish and to develop the revived language from its last traditionally spoken form.

The linguistic signal, being auditory in nature, has a temporal aspect, and hence certain temporal characteristics: (a) it occupies a certain temporal space, and (b) this space is measured in just one dimension: it is a line... The whole mechanism of linguistic structure depends upon it. Unlike visual signals (e.g. ships' flags) which can exploit more than one dimension simultaneously, auditory signals have available to them only the linearity of time (Saussure 2002, 69-70)

Gendall (1990, 13) states,

Although not going back to Lhuyd's spelling conventions (which are after all merely a phonetic system to indicate the pronunciations which he heard), he took the corpus of language of its last writers as the basis of spelling, and claimed that the corpus of Modern Cornish or Late Cornish was greater and lexically richer than that of the medieval texts.

'A system of writing, comprising between 20 and 40 letters, might conceivably be replaced in its entirety by an alternative system... But the inventory of signs in any language is countless (Saussure 2002, 72).

This was also capable of being supplemented by survivals in dialect and place names. So far as neologisms were needed these could be supplied by loan words from English reflecting the international currency of such terms.

A language constitutes a system. In this respect, it is not entirely arbitrary, for the system has a certain rationality. But precisely for this reason, the community is unable to change it at will. For the linguistic system is a complex mechanism. Its workings cannot be grasped without reflexion. Even speakers who use it daily may be quite ignorant in this regard. Any such change would require the intervention of specialists, grammarians, logicians, and others. But history shows that interference by experts is of no avail in linguistic matters. (Saussure 2002, 73)

The Late /Modern Cornish movement established a language council, **Cussel an Tavaz Kernuack**, in 1998 which comprises founder members and representatives chosen by Late/Modern Cornish speakers and learners in formal classes and informal groups.

The signal, in relation to the idea it represents, may seem to be freely chosen. However, from the point of view of the linguistic community, the signal is imposed rather than freely chosen. Speakers are not consulted about its choice. Once the language has selected a signal, it cannot be freely replaced by any other. (Saussure 2002, 71)

Brown's (1993) comment applies here,

There was a considerable cultural investment of those who had effectively learned the language and campaigned for it, and who had studied the language, thought carefully about it and its problems, had engaged in substantial research on these problems, and framed systems to address them.

As Foucault (1994, 114) remarks,

If language have all had their own history, fashions, customs, and periods of oblivion; this is because words have their LOCUS, not in TIME, but in a SPACE in which they are able to find their original site, change their positions, turn back upon themselves, and slowly unfold a whole developing curve: a TOPOLOGICAL SPACE

In 1981 Wella Brown, a leading figure in the movement and author of a standard grammar of Unified Cornish estimated the number of effective speakers at around 40.

On the positive side, the controversy has been seen as stimulating research which might otherwise not have been attempted and the production of publications and learning materials on an unprecedented scale. Ways forward have been seen in the joint statement of representatives of the three-languages varieties in 1991 who concluded that, '... this document proves that these groups can put aside their differences as and when necessary', and that... 'the main differences are in the spelling and pronunciation'. (Brown 1991, 7)

The Cornish sub-Committee of the UK Committee of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages was formed in 1995. All the three main language organizations are represented upon it, together with representatives of authorities and organizations having business with the language. It has played a key integrating role.

Dunkerley (1993, 7) proposes dividing the story of the language into four stages: OLD CORNISH, MIDDLE CORNISH, LATE CORNISH (or the degeneration and remnant stage), and MODERN (or UNIFIED) and regenerated stage.

On Kernewek (Cornish) commenced with the increased separation of Kernow from more eastern Britons by the rise of Wessex, and from Wales by the earlier Saxon occupation of the Severn Valley. This took the language through a great cultural period but subsequent events have destroyed any traces of what was, after all, mostly an oral not written language.

Even so the Kernewek language held its own as English went into a three century decline and Norman French became the language of administration (Breton also was spoken-virtually Kernewek anyway). This dispersed the language threat and Kernow continued to be Kernewek speaking, a Kernewek which was becoming Middle Kernewek.

Languages are mostly known to us only through writing. Even in the case of languages spoken in remote parts, it is even more necessary to have recourse to written evidence. The same is true for obvious reasons in the case of languages now dead. In order to have direct evidence available, it would have been necessary to have compiled throughout history collections of the kind currently being compiled in Vienna and in Paris, comprising recordings of spoken samples of all languages. Even then writing is necessary when it comes to publishing the texts thus recorded (Saussure 2002, 24)

Dunkerley (1993, 7) goes on explaining,

Middle Kernewek was in many ways the 'golden age' as we see it today, with most known literature of cultural significance being written in the period. The use of Kernewek was widespread and even gentry used it on their mottoes. 'If the gentry of Cornwall still respected the language enough to use it in their mottoes, then the language should therefore have been in a fairly strong position when, on 17<sup>th</sup> March, 1337, Cornwall became the first Duchy created since the (Norman) conquest, in recognition of its peculiar position in the Kingdom.'

Saussure (2002, 24) explains the value of the written word,

In the case of our native language, the written form constantly intrudes. In the case of languages spoken in remote parts, it is even more necessary to have recourse to written evidence. The same is true for obvious reasons in the case of languages now dead.

Kernewek entered the stage known as Old Cornish (800-1200) and during this period, was often spoken all over Cornwall. Evidence of this comes in form of place names, personal names and contained in the Bodmin Gospels and a Cornish-Latin vocabulary known as the VOCABULARIUM CORNICUM.

The return of the British speaking Bretons to a British speaking Cornwall laid the foundations of peace and stability for the next phase of Kernewek, namely Middle Cornish (1200 to 1575). Some 86% of the surviving works of literature in Kernewek comes from this period. They take the forms of great plays with intricate rhyme schemes. They had to be performed in outdoor amphitheatres because no building could hold the elaborate scenery of the huge audiences. Dunkerley 1993, 8)

Saussure (2002, 194) tells us,

There remains the fact to consider that linguistic unity may disintegrate when a spoken language undergoes the influence of a literary language. That happens without fail whenever a people reaches a certain level of civilization. By 'literary language' is here to be understood not only the language of literature but also in a more general sense every variety of cultivated language, whether official or not, which is at the service of the entire community.



After the Middle-period, Kernewek suffered a mortal blow in 1549. Parliament passed the Act of Uniformity making English the only language of the church. At his time Cornwall, was monoglot Cornish and there were pockets of Kernewek speakers in the East of the country as well. This was one of the causes of THE PRAYER BOOK REBELLION and when the Cornish laid siege to Exeter on of their demands was stated.

*We, the Cornish men, whereof certain of us understand no English, utterly refuse this new English.* (Berresford Ellis 1995, 25)

Sometimes dialects are preferred,

Sometimes preference is given to the dialect of the region where civilisation has progressed further than elsewhere. (Saussure 2002, 194)

We now enter a new phase, Late Cornish (1600 to 1800). Kernewek now became increasingly anglicized and this trend is summoned up by Ellis (1995, 26),

The surviving late texts, genuine example (albeit in an inconsistent orthography) of contemporary Cornish and exhibiting the linguistic signs of the last stage of the living language, are not particularly impressive, almost a scrapbook of oddments.

Saussure (2002, 28) adds to this,

Another cause of discrepancy between spelling and pronunciation is the borrowing of an alphabet by one people from another. It often happens that the resources of the graphic system are poorly adapted to its new function and it is necessary to have recourse to various expedients. Two letters, for example, will be used to designate a single sound. This is what happened in the case of *p* (a voiceless dental fricative) in the Germanic languages. The Latin alphabet having no character to represent it, it was rendered by *th*.

Saussure (2002, 31) remarks the subject of writing,

But the tyranny of the written form extends further yet. Its influence on the linguistic community may be strong enough to affect and modify the language itself. That happens only in highly literate communities, where written documents are of considerable importance.

Kernewek having lost its sound system, orthography and much of its idiom and grammar reached the point of death somewhere between 1700 and 1800 and we descend into the 'last of the Mohican's syndrome' where various gentlemen antiquarians roamed the remotest parts of West Penwith in search of the last speaker of Kernewek. The very latest claim for Kernewek to be a living language rests with William Bodinar and his letter of 1776.

With regard to language history and demography, each of the Celtic languages represents a special case. Some have long histories as literary languages, and others are sparse. Some are still the vernaculars of speech-communities and are used for all the business of everyday life, and others are used for a variety of specific purposes by networks of speakers without a common speech-community basis. Some have quite highly developed presence in the social institutional of their countries: education, media and public life, while others are very poorly developed in this regard.

With this violence of the name being uttered at last for its own sake, language emerges in all its brute being as a thing; the other 'parts of oration' assume in turn their autonomy, escaping from the sovereignty of the name, and ceasing to form around it an accessory circle of ornaments. And since there is no longer any particular beauty in 'returning' language around the frontiers of the name, in making it show what it does not say, the result will be a non-discursive discourse whose role will be to manifest language in its brute being. This proper being of language is what the nineteenth century was to call the Word (LE VERBE), as opposed to the Classical 'verb', whose function is to pin language, discreetly but continuously, to the being of representation. (Foucault 1994, 118-119)

Saussure (2002, 199) points at the fact of regions and different types of speech,

Whereas a single language was formerly in use throughout a given area, after five or ten centuries have elapsed, people living at opposite points on the periphery of the area will in all probability no longer understand one another. On the other hand, those living at any given place will still understand the speech of neighbouring regions. A traveller crossing the country from one side to the other will find only slight differences between one locality to the next. But as he proceeds the differences accumulate, so that in the end he finds a language which would be incomprehensible to the inhabitants of the region he set out from.

As explained above, Cornish ceased as a speech community vernacular about two centuries ago: knowledge of Cornish has been transmitted by other means, and in the twentieth century it underwent revival as a spoken language. Its closest correlate is Manx, whose last native speaker died in 1974 but which nevertheless claims several hundred speakers-643 at the 1991 Census.

There appears to be something rather contradictory about this. It is a kind of linguistic Hobson's choice. What can be chosen is already determined in advance. No individual is able, even if he wished, to modify in any way a choice already established in the language. Nor can the linguistic community exercise its authority to change even a single word. The community, as much as the individual, is bound to its language. (Saussure 2002, 71)

Since a Manx language question has featured on the Isle of Man Census, it is possible to analyse the Manx-speaking population in terms of distribution, age, gender, place of birth, occupational and social class. This is not possible for Cornish as the language has never featured on population censuses, and there has never been as yet a specifically-targeted language use or ability survey.

But from the nineteenth century, literature began to bring language back to light once more in its own being, though not as it had still appeared at the end of the Renaissance. For now we no longer have that primary, that absolutely initial, word upon which the infinite movement of discourse was founded and by which it was limited; henceforth, language was to grow with no point of departure, no end, and no promise. (Foucault 1994, 44)

The nineteenth century Cornish scholars were concerned with the transmission of the written language and the collection of what still remained in oral lore and transmission. The early twentieth century revivalists were concerned with developing these remains into the basis for a revived spoken language. The main criterion for everyday language fluency was the ability to hold a general conversation at ordinary speed on everyday topics.



Philip Payton (1993, 104-22) summarises the term Modern Cornish as used to refer to;

Because of the potential confusion, the term 'Modern Cornish' is perhaps best avoided altogether. The best name for the last phase of the historical language (15075-1800) is late Cornish, in which the word late means both tardy (LE CORNIQUE-TARDIFF in French) and deceased... Since it is impossible SENSU STRICTO to recover historical Cornish (of any phase), one has to question how important Penglase's goal of authenticity really is.

Payton remarks later on that 'the real concern was language planning rather than language revival'. For the speakers of Kernewek Kemmyn, the revival phase passed long ago. That is the reason why Payton believes 'Cornish is a modern language in its own right, which is going its own way, keeping true to the spirit of historical Cornish, but not being straitjacketed by it.'

The author points out some works and periods which are outstanding for the language:

- a- The most recent phase of historical Cornish (1575-1800), e.g. Padel (Oliver Padel, THE CORNISH WRITINGS OF THE BOSON FAMILY, Redruth, 1975.)
- b- The revived language of the twentieth century, e.g. brown (Wella Brown, A GRAMMAR OF MODERN CORNISH, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, Saltash, 1993)
- c- Both a) and b) e.g. Saunders (Tim Saunders, CORNISH SYMBOL AND SUBSTANCE, in Cathal o'Luain, FOR A CELTIC FUTURE, Dublin, 1984.)
- d- The form of revived Cornish advocated by Gendall (Kernuak) (Richard Gendall, A STUDENT'S DICTIONARY OF MODERN CORNISH, 2nd. Ed. Menheniot, 1990) (Richard Gendall, A STUDENT'S GRAMMAR OF MODERN CORNISH, Menheniot, 1991).

Payton outlines conclusions on the suitability of different phases of historical Cornish, as a base for Revived Cornish as follows:

- 1- The volume of extant Middle Cornish material is greater than the volume of Late Cornish material. So, less reconstruction is necessary when starting from a Middle Cornish base.
- 2- Doubts about word-order in sentences, occasioned by the fact that most of Middle Cornish is in verse, have been resolved.
- 3- Middle Cornish has the potential for more than one register, offering a greater choice of styles to the author than does Late Cornish.
- 4- Middle Cornish is closer to Breton and to Welsh than is Late Cornish.
- 5- Both external and internal evidence indicate that Late Cornish was heavily influenced by English, which to most Cornish speakers makes it unacceptable as a base.
- 6- The relationship between the spelling and the recommended pronunciation is much more clear-cut (being nearly phonemic) in the case of Kernewek Kemmyn, making it easier to learn.
- 7- Kernewek Kemmyn is richer than Kernuak, particularly as regards the lexicon and the flexibility of word-order, so that the quality and range of literature (particularly poetry) are potentially much greater.
- 8- The superiority of Kernewek Kemmyn is demonstrated by the fact that it is the form of Cornish used by the majority of Cornish speakers and writers.

Deacon (1993, 88) expresses that while 'Cornish was alive the name of the language was variously spelt *Carnoack*, *Curnooark*, *Kernuak*, *Kernooak*, *Kornooack*, *Kernuack*, etc by its speakers. The earliest attested form is *Cornowok* from 1572 (Wakelin, 89). The variant *Kernewek* is an invention of the twentieth-century revival and is unattested in surviving literature'. Saussure (2002, 72) adds, 'In fact no society has ever known its language to be anything other than something inherited from previous generations, which it has no choice but to accept'.

Reg Hindley (letter to the author, August 24, 2001) asserts that Berresford Ellis' Chapter 8 on *The Growth and Future of the Revival* is well balanced, and especially from pp 190 to about 203 'is good on the question of how to write 'Cornish', and what the latter is'.

Hindley comments,

Surviving Cornish literature is almost exclusively religious and/or medieval, and it is evident that speakers failed to 'modernise' it in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when advances in knowledge and industrialisation made it clear that English was the language of the future for Cornish people, and all could now speak it.

Saussure (2002, 149) writes on the influence of political stability on language,

Political stability does not influence the language in the same way as instability. There is no QUID PRO QUO. When political stability slows down linguistic evolution, that is the action of a positive factor, albeit an external one... Linguistic immobility, the relative stabilisation of a language, may be the result of factors external to it ( the influence of a court, of education, of an academy, of writing, etc) which in turn are actively favoured by social and political stability.

Hindley points out that there was no national sentiment to counter this, as both seafaring (British Navy) and the prosperity of the tin-mining industry made the links with England paramount, popular and profitable.

The signal, in relation to the idea it represents, may seem to be freely chosen. However, from the point of view of the linguistic community, the signal is imposed rather than freely chosen... No individual is able, even if he wished, to modify in any way a choice already established in the language. Nor can the linguistic community exercise its authority to change even a single word. The community as much as the individual, is bound to its language (Saussure 2002, 71).

Going back to Hindley, he clearly explains that 'anyway Breton has a very low status in France and itself lacks a modern vocabulary which it might be safe to copy for Cornish'. There is a good deal of truth in his comments when he says,

The attempt to create a modern Cornish therefore often depends on adopting words which are really new coinings in Breton and Welsh. As Welsh, though threatened is much more widely spoken than Breton, it seems to me far more sensible to follow the Welsh, which is still widely spoken and has a substantial modern literature.

Saussure (2002, IX) believes that the concepts we use are creations of the language we speak,

Words are not local labels which have come to be attached to things and qualities already given in advance by nature, or to ideas already grasped independently by the human mind. On the contrary, languages themselves, collective products of social interaction, supply the essential conceptual frameworks for men's analysis of reality and, simultaneously, the verbal equipment for their description of it. The concepts we use are creations of the language we speak

All the Celtic countries have gone through English control over their affairs, English kings that looked after their own people. All of them have suffered their subjugation. All have, and they are fighting back.

There are still those who have fire in their blood and a light in their eyes. In a word: fight for their country, right to govern their own land.

All wealth is coinable; and it is by this means that it enters into circulation in the same way that any natural being was characterizable, and could thereby find its place in a taxonomy, that any individual was nameable and could find its place in an articulated language; that any representation was signifiable and could find its place, in order to be known, in a system of identities and differences. (Foucault 1994, 175)

There is a very interesting phenomenon when several languages co-exist,

Colonisation, which is simply one form of conquest, transports a language into new environments, and this brings changes in the language ... The internal politics of a country is of no less importance for the life of a language. The governments of certain countries, such as Switzerland, allow the coexistence of several languages ... Advanced stages of civilisation favour the development of certain special languages (legal language) scientific terminology, etc (Saussure 2002, 21)

Saussure (2002, 203) concludes 'languages do not merge into one another, but stand opposed.'

It may be added that each people believes its own language to be superior to others. Someone speaking another language is often regarded as someone incapable of speaking. The Greek word *hárbaros* (barbarian) appears to have meant 'stutterer, stammerer' and to be related to Latin *balbus* ('stuttering, stammering'). (Saussure 2002, 189).

The concept of human rights has gained ground since the end of the Second World War and the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials, which were the first major challenge to the idea of nation-state sovereignty. Since 1945, the increasing number of international bodies that concern themselves with the internal affairs of states and the increasing readiness of international organisations to set aside sovereignty when they deem it necessary have brought us, in one sense, into a post-nationalist era. The absolute right of governments to act in any way they choose on their own territory without interference from outside has been massively eroded in the very recent past. Against this background, the rights of minorities have moved from the national stage to become an international issue.

Few in Europe, would quarrel with the weak interpretation of linguistic rights. Those European states where the right to use one's own language within the private sphere with family, friends and members of the language community is still legally denied or challenged are in the minority, and likely to be pressured through bodies such as the Council of Europe to take a more liberal stance or risk pariah status. Of course, the general acceptance of such rights is relatively recent and many minority groups have lived under linguistic restrictions within living memory.

On the other hand, if some external upheaval in the life of the nation sets off linguistic evolution, that means that the language simply regains its freedom to follow a normal course of change. (Saussure 2002, 149)

Saussure (2002, 189) goes on explaining territorial divergences,

The first thing that strikes one in studying languages is their diversity, the differences as between one country and another, or even one district and another. Whereas divergences over time often do not come to the notice of the observer, territorial divergences leap immediately to the eye. Even savages grasp them, through contact with other tribes speaking other languages. It is even by means of such comparisons that a people becomes aware of its own language.



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## 12- Current Language Status

Spriggs (2001)'s comment applies here,

In the previous centuries (before 19<sup>th</sup>), anything Celtic had unusually been seen with disdain, something of little value that belonged to the ignorant working people in the Celtic nations.

On this subject Saussure (2002,192) writes,

First, it may happen that the language of a new population is added to the already existing language of an indigenous population... At all times nations have mingled without merging languages. To realise this, it suffices to take a look at a map of modern Europe.

The aspect of linguistic rights which is most contended is the right to use regional or minority languages in public contexts such as education, broadcasting, state bureaucracy and the democratic process. The problem is that in many senses the public domain is unitary and the space occupied by one language ousts another. Supporters of multilingualism will argue that there are ways to manage it but I find it difficult to provide an example of a society that has managed total equality in terms of language rights for its members in every domain of public life. The states that are commonly cited as models for linguistic equality (e.g. Switzerland and Belgium) are usually operating the territoriality principle which remains that although the states may be officially multi-or bilingual the individual regions are monolingual, as are many of their citizens.

The right to use one's own language in public space is rarely challenged where this use is unofficial. Commercial dealings, artistic representations and intra- community meetings can all take place in 'minority' languages in most European states. Again this is a recently won right in some situations, but it would be hard to rescind in the present climate where bodies such as the Council of Europe are pressing for yet more extensive rights.

Opening up space for regional and minority languages in the public domain is not easy, because the acquisition of linguistic rights by some means the perception of loss of rights by others. This is the case in Wales where the Welsh Language Act (1993) has led to a reintroduction of Welsh in the public sphere. Much employment now hinges on bilingual competence, as employers need to employ bilinguals to comply with the provisions of the Act. As a result of centuries of active discouragement by the government in London, Welsh disappeared in many communities. Much of Wales, particularly in the old industrial heartland and the Marches (border area), is monolingual English speaking. Although the members of these communities would identify themselves as fully Welsh, their English monolingualism prevents them from benefiting fully from greater Welsh autonomy and the Welsh cultural renaissance. The problem should resolve itself as all Welsh schoolchildren now study Welsh. What we have now is a lost generation that feels a sense of exclusion. The righting of old injustice is to be welcomed. The challenge for the future will be to manage language use within the community so that the redress of old unfairness does not create new.

Language rights are human rights and not group rights, which are so problematic in terms of individual freedoms. Freedom of expression is an individual freedom and cannot be magically transformed into a collective right simply because it happens to involve collective or group interests. The problem with language, however, is that communication always involves at least two people. *I do not ask for the right to use my language with myself. I ask for the right to*



*be addressed in my language, to have an audience when I speak in my language, to be allowed to be part of a community that carries out some or all of its public life in my language. As soon as we recognise the right to be understood we are no longer dealing with the individual but the community. The state should be prepared to employ the language of the minority once that group has the numbers that make use practicable. This proviso recognises that my right to use my language in the public sphere is not an absolute right and according it depends on numbers.*

The other side of the coin is the right to understand. One cannot join a speech community simply by an act of will. The acquisition of a second language demands commitment, effort and years of apprenticeship. For some people language acquisition may prove impossible, as we frequently witness when families migrate and the older members fail to acquire the language of the new environment. Thus the restitution of a minority language to public life may result in exclusion for adult members of the minority community who do not know the minority language. Again this may be illustrated in the case of Wales, where those without bilingual competence may feel marginalised economically and culturally.

One must have the right to use one's own language whether one comes from a family rooted in the territory for generations and is a citizen of the state or whether one is newly arrived from another country and without citizenship. This standpoint is likely to gain widespread support where this concerns language use in the private sphere. There may not be such agreement when rights are to be extended to language use in the public sphere. The Council of Europe's European Charter for Regional or Minority Language (1992) is quite explicit in that it only seeks to guarantee the rights of autochthonous groups, categorised as national minorities. However, when the French Government signed the Charter, it challenged this distinction and recognised all the allochthonous and autochthonous minority languages in the French state, which came to the grand total of 75.

The strength of such anti-minority feeling in Europe should not be underestimated. We are after all the bearers of a legacy of the two hundred years of nation-building discussed above. The nationalism of the early twenty-first century is perhaps not as virulent as that of earlier times and borders are more permeable than hitherto. None the less, we would be naive if we imagined that nationalism had disappeared. The autochthonous 'minority' language groups that resisted the nation-building process, refusing to see the capital as their centre, the national language as their exclusive language, are still the object of suspicion by those who have accepted national language, national identity and the myths of state nationalism. There is a belief that claims for the restitution of cultural and linguistic rights are only a precursor to demands for autonomy and independence. In many instances such suspicions are justified, as groups which sought and achieved the restitution of culture and language have also sought and achieved devolution of political power. There is a belief that social cohesion may break down if a community of communication is not maintained.

The larger problem will become the issue of the lingua franca. The choice of any of the languages of the member states will confer great advantage on its speakers. Official planning is highly unlikely. A more probable scenario is an unplanned spread of English, which has the advantage of already playing the role of lingua franca in global settings. Leaving this thorny problem aside for the moment, we could imagine that those who are bilingual in the language of their group and whichever language establishes itself as European lingua franca will be in a better position to benefit from a single market where there is free movement of labour and to operate in a political system which is larger than the national. It may be that groups with a long history of bilingualism in their own and the national language may be better positioned psychologically and practically to accept the need for the bilingualism that will permit ever-closer union.

This change in thinking in the academic world is known as RENAISSANCE

This is how we must understand the revival, so marked in the nineteenth century, of all the techniques of exegesis. This reappearance is due to the fact that language has resumed the enigmatic density it possessed at the time of the Renaissance. But now it is not a matter of rediscovering some primary word that has been buried in it, but of disturbing the words we speak, of denouncing the grammatical habits of our thinking, of dissipating the myths that animate our words, of rendering once more noisy and audible the element of silence that all discourse carries with it as it is spoken ( Foucault 1994: 298)

There is a perception of the Cornish language movement as the domain of wispy-bearded recluses who sit late into the night musing over ancient manuscripts, muttering to themselves and forgetting to wash. It is an image the real promoters of the Cornish language are keen to dispel- but they are also keen to recognize the contribution of the early pioneer of the language revival.

It is relevant to point out, for example, that linguistic changes do not correspond to generations of speakers. There is no vertical structure of layers one above the other like drawers in a piece of furniture: people of all ages intermingle and communicate with one another... In addition, people use their language without conscious reflexion, being largely unaware of the laws which govern it. If they are not aware of these laws, how can they act to change them? In any case, linguistic facts are rarely the object of criticism, every society being usually content with the language it has inherited (Saussure 2002, 73).

Graham Sandercock is Chairman of the Cornish Language Board and a former Chairman of the Cornish Language Fellowship. He is also the editor of the monthly Cornish Language Magazine, AN GANNAS. He is both passionate and yet reassuringly realistic about the future of Cornish,

Twenty-five years ago the language was about people who probably were not academics but who were hobbyists, and they were perhaps eccentrics. Perhaps they did do some damage in terms of image but they also set the foundations (Sandercock 2001, 13).

Graham's spot on the Cornish language map is no ivory tower, but a homely hilltop semi just outside Liskeard. Here he works at the development and promotion of the language through print and teaching- and all this with a day job as a geography teacher. It obviously matters a lot to him, but just how important is the Cornish language?

It makes the Cornish case as strong as that of Welsh. There is not much you can't say about Wales that you can't say about Cornwall, except that the language here has to be revived. (Sandercock (2001, 13)

Saussure (2002, 22) explains,

For every language in existence has its own geographical area. None the less, in fact geography has nothing to do with the internal structure of the language.



In fact there are so many comparisons that some critics say that Cornish is just a stolen copy of Welsh. Graham dispels this calmly with logic rather than irritation,

Cornish is closer to Breton than Welsh, actually. Spoken Welsh has developed, as a language should, and is very different from Cornish. Of course, there is a lot of common vocabulary, but then Breton, Cornish and Welsh were all the same language at one time (Sandercock 2001, 13).

Saussure (2002, 74) remarks the influence of language,

A language, on the contrary, is something in which everyone participates all the time, and that is why it is constantly open to the influence of all. This key fact is by itself sufficient to explain why a linguistic revolution is impossible of all social institutions, a language affords the least scope for such enterprise. It is part and parcel of the life of the whole community, and the community's natural inertia exercises a conservative influence upon it.

But they are far more than dialects of the same language. They are separate languages, like German and Dutch, that are mutually intelligible.

Sandercock (2001, 13) describes the state of the language recently,

When I first started learning there were hardly any fluent speakers, in the early 70s. I think the language was boosted by the devolution debates in the 70s in Wales, Scotland and in Cornwall.

Through the efforts of the Cornish Language Board, made up the Cornish language speakers, and the Fellowship, which anyone can join, speakers or not, they hope to create many more speakers.

There are thousands of people who have either taken lessons or just picked up a dictionary and learned bits of Cornish themselves, and there are 200-300 fluent speakers (Sandercock 2001, 14).

Saussure (2002, 204) stresses the difference between particularism and parroquialism,

In any community, there are always two forces simultaneously pulling in opposite directions: particularism and parochialism on the one hand, and on the other the force of 'intercourse', which establishes communication between men.

But what are Graham's longer term ambitions for the language?

I think the first stage is that people in Cornwall, especially school children, should have the opportunity to learn Cornish as an academic subject if they wish. It should have equal status with any other subject. That would not cost anything because there are some many hours in a teaching day and they have to be filled, whatever the curriculum. The only cost would be the initial training of teachers. (Sandercock 2001, 14)

The Bretons started out paying to have their children taught Breton at special schools and now the French government have accepted it. People can take standard French examinations in Breton as well as French. On the Isle of Man, which is much smaller than Cornwall in size and population, they have recognized Manx and use it as a medium to teach other subjects. Students can learn maths in Manx, for example.

Sandercock (2001, 14) concludes,

The most important thing for me is that Cornish is a language for the future, not of the past. The past is gone and the romantic view of Cornwall 400 years ago is absolute nonsense. Living conditions and poverty were appalling and just because people spoke Cornish it didn't make life any better for them. We have to look for the future. One family woman struggling to make ends meet and without educational qualifications said to me, 'I really feel somebody now that I can speak Cornish'.

Saussure (2002, 74) adds.

Bearing in mind that a language is always an inheritance from the past, one must add that the social forces in question act over a period of time. If stability is a characteristic of languages, it is not only because languages are anchored in the community. They are also anchored in time. The two facts are inseparable continuity with the past constantly restricts freedom of choice... Ultimately there is a connexion between these two opposing factors: the arbitrary convention which allows free choice, and the passage of time, which fixes that choice. It is because the linguistic sign is arbitrary that it knows no other law than that of tradition, and because it is founded upon tradition that it can be arbitrary.

The Cornish language, and the twentieth century movement to revive it, pose problems for observers of modern Cornwall. For those who write from within the Cornwall as part of the South West School the persistence, even the existence, of a long established revival movement based on a non-English language is difficult to explain.

Thomas (1973, 10)'s comment applies,

Cornish still has resonance on a symbolic level... The language is one symbol of a separate identity... The knowledge of the existence of a separate language, as distinct from a full knowledge of that language itself, is probably sufficient... to foster a sense of otherness.

Foucault (1994, 357) adds the following statement,

Lastly, on the projected surface of language, man's behaviour appears as an attempt to say something; his slightest gestures, even their involuntary mechanisms and their failures, have a MEANING; and everything he arranges around him y the way of objects, rites, customs, discourse, all the traces he leaves behind him, constitute a coherent whole and a SYSTEM OF SIGNS. Thus, these three pairs of FUNCTION and NORM, CONFLICT and RULE, SIGNIFICATION and SYSTEM completely cover the entire domain of what can be known about man.

The enthusiastic adoption of a few words of Cornish, notably 'Kernow', during the 1980s within popular Cornish culture, illustrates this interaction between the language as symbol and the popular identity.

The passage of time, which ensures the continuity of a language, also has another effect, which appears to work in the opposite direction. It allows linguistic signs to be changed with some rapidity. Hence variability and invariability are both, in a certain sense, characteristic of the linguistic sign. (Saussure 2002, 74)

Deacon (1993, 90) stresses this idea as follows,

Language is intrinsically social. It is both the product of complex histories and social processes and a part of the reproduction of those histories and processes... Language is itself bound up with social relations of power, with relations between people... It is only through language that we construct our reality and expresses our values... The words people use form the values they have is impossible to detach. The two are inextricably bound together.

As regards the real scope of languages Saussure (2002, 22) points out,

A language has connexions with institutions of every sort: church, school, etc. These institutions in turn are intimately bound up with the literary development of a language. This is a phenomenon of general importance, since it is inseparable from political history

At present then, the revival movement offers a choice of directions. However, much has been achieved in the revival of the language, which is once again a living part of the Cornish culture. It is above all a significant achievement that now Cornish people, and whoever may be interested in the Cornish people and their language, can, if they wish, obtain with relative ease some knowledge of the language which was spoken throughout Cornwall until not so long ago, a language which is part of the Cornish people's age-old Celtic heritage.

The sign is subject to change because it continues through time. But what predominates in any change is the survival of earlier material. Infidelity to the past is only relative. That is how it comes about that the principle of change is based upon the principle of continuity (Saussure 2002, 75)

According to the Academic Independent Study on Cornish (2000, 15), 'The Gorseth has played an important part in the reconciliation of the language of the language variety controversy. It has continued to recognise Nance's Unified Cornish alongside Kemmyn'. From 1999 it has also accepted entries to its literary competitions in Modern or Late Cornish, and it has also published a *Book of Prayers* for Cornwall using all three varieties.

The spirit of mutual recognition which has ensued is viewed by Deacon as something of a truce,

The controversies have, on the whole, died down. Organizations and individuals have in the main got with the task of language development. The output of publications and materials has been quite impressive, bearing in mind the slender resources with which they have been funded-generally self-funded (Deacon 1996, 88)

There will be a problem over the spelling of place names if public signage in Cornish is further implemented.

Over three-quarters of Cornwall's place names are Cornish and in Western Cornwall their present spellings derive from the Late or Modern Cornish period.

A language is a system which is intrinsically defenceless against the factors which constantly tend to shift relationships between signal and signification. This is one of the consequences of the arbitrary nature of the linguistic sign (Saussure 2002, 76)

There is currently no single standardised form of the language which is accepted by the generality of speakers and users of Cornish. At present a number of Cornishes legitimately exist. It should be remembered that this is in fact the case with English, domestically (with Standard Southern English, and Standard Scottish English as well as Scots itself) featuring in their respective education systems, and world-wide (with British, Indian, America and Australian Standard Englishes.)

Each of these is a Standard English capable of being readily understood (albeit with some distinctive features) by speakers and readers of the other.

A language is situated socially and chronologically by reference to a certain community and a certain period of time. No one can alter it in any particular. On the other hand, the fact that its signs are arbitrary implies theoretically a freedom to establish any connexion whatsoever between sounds and ideas. ... Consequently a language alters, or rather evolves, under the influence of all factors which may affect either sounds or meanings. Evolution is inevitable. (Saussure 2002, 76).

The way forward lies with the speakers, learners and users of Cornish themselves. The different forms of Cornish become more familiar to each other and a process of accommodation commences. Some institutions use all three. For example, the Cornish Sub-Committee of EBLUL enables all three forms to be used.

Kemmyn and Unified Cornishes have developed neologisms from root forms within the language itself, or use similar constructions as do Welsh or Breton. These are reviewed and approved by a sub-committee of the Language Board. These forms would be very largely intelligible to a Late or Modern Cornish speaker-even though this later form tends to take over new vocabulary as a borrowing from English or common international usage. Although spelling conventions between the various forms of the language give a markedly different look to the written forms, the pronunciation is not so markedly divergent as to make them mutually unintelligible. Even the spelling conventions can become familiar with practice and use.

Chris Dunkerley (1993, 14) makes the following statement,

Cornish children are now being given Kernewek names which their ancestors used such as PETROC, HORWENNA, WELLA, TAMSYN, ESYLD, PERRAN, etc. Houses and Businesses are being given Kernewek names such as CHY-AN-MOR (the house by the sea) or LYVERTHA (Post Office), and entering Kernow by road one sees a sign at the border saying Kernow.

New words are created by various fluent speakers and then the Cornish speakers decide if a word dies or becomes taken into the Kernewek vocabulary by virtue of usage. This process is democratic and proves there is a Cornish speaking community.

Berresford Ellis (1998, 50)'s comment applies here,

Some speakers of Kernewek prefer to continue with the spelling system of Robert Morton Nance. Some actively constructing a Late Cornish West Penwith dialect. However the vast majority follow the modern standard of Kernewek Kemmyn. All varieties are mutually intelligible a bit like American and British forms of the English language.

Saussure (2002, 76) underlines the importance of sounds and ideas,

Other human institutions- customs, laws, etc- are all based in varying degrees on natural connexions between things...For there is nothing at all to prevent the association of any idea whatsoever with any sequence of sounds whatsoever.

Philip Payton (1993, 271), on the other hand says,

One consequence of basing the language revival so firmly on the medieval period was to distance it from the culture of contemporary Cornish people... Richard Gendall wrote in the journal NEW CORNWALL in June 1968 that the language was... 'an inalienable part of Cornwall's heritage-and should be put within reach of Cornwall's children'. There was an element of cultural conservation in this for... a few sensitive people question the good sense of attempting to save rare animals and plant life from extinction.

I would like to quote a view on the language now,

The language has at a rough calculation 15,000 words remaining for use, although this is more than in the other versions of the language (in view of the additional 'traditional' vocabulary which lived on into the English dialect of Cornwall) it is clearly not adequate for the language to become a complete living vernacular in Cornwall, in use by all sorts of people in everyday as well as more demanding situations. (Gendall 1993, 12)

What is an artificial language? Saussure (2002, 76) casts light on the subject,

This principle must even apply to artificial languages. Anyone who invents an artificial language retains control of it only as long as it is not in use. But as soon as it fulfils its only purpose and becomes the property of the community, it is no longer under control...Once launched, the language will in all probability begin to lead a semiological life of its own.

The language must therefore acquire more vocabulary and this brings into consideration the underlying assumption of authenticity in the language.' The adoption of English words is not the solution because this would soon make the language little more than a dialect of English, which has over a million words' (Gendall 1993, 12)

Cornish did in the past adopt many English words, but this was when it was a complete living language like Welsh, and the adoption of English did not essentially change the general character of English.



In the interests of authenticity the only viable method of expanding the vocabulary may be to recreate Cornish words according to Cornish principles from the Celtic vocabulary of the cognate languages Breton and Welsh since, of course, these languages were once close dialects of the same early British language with essentially the same vocabulary base. An examination of Welsh and Breton immediately reveals the close similarities which exist in the extant vocabulary of Modern Cornish. 'Modern Cornish would be satisfactory for both the revival movement and also for higher study (since the restoration of the vocabulary would not affect the ability to read the extant texts, which is the primary requirement of higher study) because the grammar, syntax, phonology, orthography and the necessary vocabulary will be identical' (Penglase 1994, 100).

In a later article, Charles Penglase argued that 'authenticity is the most desirable goal, but absolute authenticity is quite unattainable'. (Penglase 1995, 120).

In the absence of native-speakers and sound-recordings of historical Cornish, any reconstruction of the grammar, syntax, phonology, lexicon and particularly semantics, is bound to include elements of doubt.

It is impossible to say what remnant of the language came to Australia with the earliest sailors, or last century with miners and farmers, but perhaps a few words within their distinctive English dialect speech. What is known is that in the 1960's there were those who in isolation sought out rare dictionaries in libraries to assuage an inner hunger for knowledge of their roots. 'But in order to have a language, there must be a community of speakers. Contrary to what might appear to be the case, a language never exists even for a moment except as a social fact, for it is a semiological phenomenon. Its social nature is one of its internal characteristics'. (Saussure 2002, 77)

Spriggs (2000) adds the following comment,

We decided we wanted to learn the form of the language as it was last spoken by our ancestors, in some areas less than 100 years before the first major wave of Cornish migrants came to Australia. We felt we wanted the experience of speaking a language that we knew our ancestors really spoke and thought.

But why learn Cornish in Australia?

It is the knowledge and feeling for our roots which gives many of us a sense of identity in a relatively new country which is rapidly changing in its society, ethnic makeup and ethos. The thrill of being involved in saving a language (Spriggs 2000)

Coming back to Cornwall, unemployment is high and wages are relatively low. Demographically the area is characterised by a high incidence of retired people. There was inevitably, during the 1950s and 1960s, an economic exploitation, which also spawned considerable immigration to exploit the specific economic niches that were created in its wake, generated a reaction against the core and, as in other areas, a form of nationalism emerged. This reactivism was linked with the symbolic function of the Cornish language, considered as the basis for the creation of a specific identity. 'But even then there is something missing. The language thus represented is a viable system, but not a living one. It is a social reality, but not a historical fact'. (Saussure 2002, 78)

We have seen that Hebrew survived for centuries as a religious and scholarly language. It is the late nineteenth century, a movement led by Eliezer Benyuda reintroduced Hebrew into Palestine as a spoken language. After the founding of Israel, Hebrew was taught in the schools and is now the common language of Israeli citizens.

Other languages have risen from their cultural sickbeds to new life. Welsh and Navajo speakers revitalized these dying languages through 'immersion' schools where children used their ancestral language every day. Both languages have grown in numbers of speakers over the past few decades.

We must consider what is brought about by the passage of time, as well as what is brought about the forces of social integration, without taking into account the contribution of time, our grasp of linguistic reality remains incomplete. (Saussure 2002, 78)

David Ammear (2002) writes,

A different approach is needed where few speakers survive. Leanne Hinton helped start the Native California Network, a program that teamed fluent speakers of native Californian languages (all of which are nearly extinct) with apprentice speakers. Although the apprentices could not immerse themselves in a linguistic community, they immersed themselves in conversations with the 'master' speaker.

Leslie Sitek, (e-mail to the author, August 6, 2001) outlines as follows,

Cornish revivalists do share the defensive nationalism of Patagonia settlers, but only in an intellectual sense, for none of them are native Cornish speakers and indeed many of them are non-Cornish origin, from other English counties. I have friends here who would have to see a revival of (Yorkshire) English dialect, which is now nearing extinction, having declined to little more than an ACCENT in everyday standard English.

I have already spoken about the question of 'nationalism', that also Sitek writes on,

For a minority there is a justified resentment that extends to a sort of 'nationalism', but it has virtually no electoral support, as the cause of complaint is common in attractive rural and coastal districts throughout Western Europe.

The last is what he calls 'the cosmopolitanisation' of society by increased prosperity and ability to travel which has cultural consequences, 'that most accept without question'.

After recognizing that two languages differ, one is instinctively led to discover analogies between them. This is a natural tendency among language-users. County people like to compare their own local speech with that of a neighbouring village (Saussure 2002, 190)



Leslie explains his interest on the language and what he considers the status of it in social terms,

The fact that there was a completely separate language peculiar to Cornwall does give extra status and attractiveness to intellectuals (including me), and the fact that Cornwall is swamped with wealthy incomers who can afford to buy the more desirable properties just to 'retire' there annoys many local people whose own children cannot afford to compete in the housing market and who tend to leave Cornwall to seek work in the major cities, especially London.

Leslie does not consider the revival a massive movement and he also gives reasons for that,

Location encourages particularism, but the high proportion of 'outsiders' in the population must be an even bigger stimulus... Occasional VOLUNTARY teaching of (modern reinvented) Cornish in secondary schools, where there is a keen teacher, and volunteered children come in 'economic' numbers, is another common gesture.

His opinions on politics are even bleaker,

MEBYON KERNOW (Sons of Cornwall) occasionally has a councillor elected in local government elections, in which only 30% of the electorate bother to vote, but in national (UK) general elections the Liberals tend to win. Otherwise Conservatives usually win.

He really believes that there is what he calls 'an industrial proletariat' in Cornwall, and the young and disaffected- and well educated usually leave'.

Mining has died out, fishing and farming are quite weak, tourism and the 'retirement industry' dominate but Leslie adds some other features, 'There are 'artists' colonies, potting and painting and some young urban 'drop-outs', who romanticise 'life on the FRINGE'.

As for the language, Sitek points out that "it can only have 'curiosity' value and intellectual interest". He considers that old genuine literature as 'mainly religious, antiquated, and boring to the young who follow the usual worldwide trends of Anglo-American cosmopolitan youth-culture'. 'A language is a system of which all the parts can and must be considered as synchronically interdependent' (Saussure 2002, 86).

An Academic Independent Study (2000, 15) offers a different view, as from the outset, the revival actively produced a lively written literature,

Early scholars such as George Sauerwein, Henry Jenner and Duncombe-Jewell produced verse, and this genre was further developed by the succeeding revivalists: Morton Nance, Allin-Collins, W.C.D. Watson and others of the more recent revival have recently become more easily accessible with the publication of an anthology, THE WHEEL, edited by Tim Saunders.

On page 23, the aforementioned study underlines the fact that it would be possible to evaluate the success of the language revival to date in terms of Joshua Fishman's ideas in his study 'Reversing Language Shift'. His study is particularly concerned with small language

communities which are approaching or which have suffered 'language death'. Fishman discusses the circumstances of cases of successful language restoration and provides a theoretical structure which numerically small language-groups may pass through to successful language regeneration.

Fishman (1991,87) details a typology a language restoration : the 'Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale' (GIDS) from a near extinction phase (GIDS 8), to a fully restored language functioning fully in all domains. (GIDS 1)'.

It must be emphasized that this scale is concerned with levels of actual use, irrespective of the actual numbers of the minority and majority-speech communities involved- or of the proportions of the minority within the majority speech communities. 'For in the history of any innovation one always finds two distinct phases. (1) its appearance in individual cases, and (2) its incorporation into the language in exactly the same form, but now adopted by the community' (Saussure 2002. 97). It is therefore a qualitative rather than a quantitative scale. The present study has identified the language from its lowest point in the nineteenth century and described developments in the twentieth.

In Fisherman's terms (1991, 88) this study reports the progress of revival through the following stages,

GIDS Stage 8 : 'Most vestigial users are socially isolated old folks and (the language) needs to be reassembled from their mouths and memories and taught to demographically unconcentrated adults.' This stage corresponds with the late nineteenth century when collectors were noting oral transmission from semi-speakers, and revivalists were attempting to codify the results into dictionaries, grammars and language courses.

GIDS Stage 7: 'Most users... are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond childbearing age'. Probably most of the early revivalists in the early twentieth century were, but one at least was teaching his child Cornish.

GIDS Stage 6: '... the attainment of intergenerational informal oracy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement'. By 1939 there was an active group of young people and students who had learned the language. After the war marriage and family formation began to produce another generation who knew the language from their infancy. The group comprised a network in touch through informal contacts, the creation of Cornish language organizations and regular events.

GIDS Stage 5: '... literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extracommunal reinforcement of such literacy'. This is where the language movement very largely stands today. The language is being used as a home language, children are taught to read and write as well as speak it. A developing Cornish language press produces learning and resource materials for children. Without exception respondents did not distinguish between speaking, reading and writing abilities in Cornish. These were all felt to be pretty much the same, which is understandably the case since Cornish is predominantly acquired through classes, books and written materials. There has been some development of the language in school education, which is described further. Cornish is seen above as getting into community use in various ways even beyond the network of speakers, and it is being institutionalised in Cornish life in entertainments, language events, public signage and official uses.

The further stages of the GIDS outline the progress of a reviving language through the stages of lower grade education, the lower work sphere, lower governmental services and mass-media, and to higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media domains. These stages represent the agenda before Cornish today.

An Academic Independent Study (2000, 24) reports that Representatives of the three main language-varieties all claimed uptake of Cornish amongst learners of all age-groups,

A 'gasping-hole' was reported amongst the 18-24 age groups for Kemmyn, and the other language-groups also reported low uptake 'about 10%' of the members in this age-group. Latest uptake was reported amongst the middle aged (e.g. for Unified 50% in the 45-59 age group, and for Late /Modern 80% in the 25-44 age group).

Although these are only impressionistic estimates, they point to concern with appeal to young people.

Respondents also reported Cornish as having great value in naming ordinary things: roads, houses, boats, children domestic animals. In this way the language is being used again across a wide sector of Cornish people. The focus groups generated strongly argued points concerning the symbolic function of the language in securing specific recognition for Cornwall at regional level.

The rituals of everyday life, and public ritual and ceremony too, are becoming domains in which an increasing proportion of the public wishes its ethnic identity and heritage language to be used. The commercial applications in branding and language display in advertising are seen as ways in which assurance can be signalled of Cornish quality and authenticity (AISOC, 24)

Respondents also stressed the fact that on what the three main language-varieties have in common: mutual intelligibility and understandable spelling conventions. The language institutions are developing mutual recognition and ways of working together. Kemmyn and Unified Users are frequently testified that only spelling really distinguishes them. Use of Unified and Modern/Late Cornishes speak the ways in which their speech-varieties are becoming closer together.

To summarise, a language does not present itself to us as a set of signs already delimited, requiring us merely to study their meanings and organisation... a segment of sound which is, as distinct from what precedes and follows in the spoken sequence, the signal of a certain concept. (Saussure 2002, 102)

The Celtic League was founded in RHOSLLANERCHRUGOG, North Wales on the 9<sup>th</sup> August 1961. There, at the Welsh national Eisteddfod, in the Plaid Cymru tent, a dozen Welshmen, Bretons and Scotsmen met to discuss a proposal for regular co-operation between the national movements of the Celtic countries.

This was driven by the need for an inter-Celtic organization, which would function in the political sphere, cultivate solidarity between the Celtic nations (and organise expressions of this when needed) and develop an inter-Celtic political consciousness.

Cathal ó LUain (2001/2, 2) comments,

In the early years we published an annual volume and newssheet, CELTIC NEWS, but decided in 1973 that a quarterly magazine would be more appropriate to a campaigning League so CARN was born.

In Mannin, considerable progress has been made with regard to government support for the teaching of Manx and the final step to independence is still a matter of vigorous discussion.

The author (2001, 2-3) The Cornish have been refused recognition by Westminster as a 'national minority' under the Framework Convention for National Minorities and Cornish has been excluded from the European Charter for Regional and Minority languages'.

Despite presenting a petition of 50,000 signatures calling for a Cornish Assembly, Kernow is still threatened with into an English south-western region.

Davyth Hicks (2001, 2-11) remarks,

The second issue is that the U.K. government deemed that the Cornish were not to be included as a 'national minority' on the Framework Convention for National Minorities. The omission of the Cornish from the Convention, although currently under appeal, removes another raft of the rights that the Cornish could utilise on a range of issues including language.

Not being included on the legislation above is having a detrimental effect on Cornish language development. Even though the desire is there amongst Cornish people to have their language taught in schools and to set up Cornish-medium schools, Cornish people have neither the support of European legislation on their side and are faced with an, at least, indifferent UK government when it comes to developing and giving an infrastructure to Cornish language learning.

Hick (2001/02, 12)'s comment seems to me very suitable here when it comes to confront the situation of Manx and Cornish.

In comparison the recent successes in the Isle of Man both in setting up their Manx medium primary unit and the increase in the number of speakers show how successful language development can be when supported by, in their case, autonomous government.

Every European country teaches through its own language and not through English,

The characteristic role of a language in relation to thought is not to supply the material phonetic means by which ideas may be expressed. It is to act as intermediary between thought and sound, in such a way that the combination of both necessarily produces a mutually complementary delimitation of units. (Saussure 2002, 110).

### 13- Estimates of Numbers of Speakers.

Estimates of numbers of speakers able to use Cornish effectively during the twentieth century are difficult to assess. The criterion adopted in *An Academic Independent Study on The Cornish language* (2000 11, 12) is the ability to 'hold a general conversation at ordinary speed on everyday topics'. The best indication is in the numbers of language bards admitted to the GORSETH, and from 1967 numbers successfully passing the examinations of the Language Board at the then highest grade, Three,

In the first year of its operation, 1967/68 there were 20 successful presentations to its examinations, rising to a peak of 93 in 1981, of whom 9 passed at the highest grade... In 1983, seven language bards were received in the Gorseth. By 1984 there were eighteen learners' classes operating throughout Cornwall, and five elsewhere.

These indications might suggest growth of an effective speaking community to about one hundred but a more cautious contemporary estimate place numbers around forty. In the period immediately prior to the language reforms and controversies of the later 1980s, numbers of effective Cornish speakers probably increased from about 50 to 100.

Since this period there has been a very definite increase in the pace of language development. Many of the organisations and individuals consulted during this study (AISOL 2000, 12), 'felt that there had been positive effects of the tripartite split.

Cornish has never featured on population censuses, and there has never been as yet a specifically-targeted language use or ability survey.

In all the Celtic contexts migration has historically taken speakers outwith the traditional homelands. In Scotland some 40% of all Gaelic speakers normally reside outwith the Highlands and Islands (AISOC 2000, 18).

Each of the Celtic language group has had to face similar problems of the kind compared with Cornish-although of varying differences of scale. In recent times each of the Celtic language-groups has undergone language-shift.. 'With both Cornish and Manx this has resulted in the cessation of the language as a community vernacular. Both languages are now maintained by a network of revived language learners' (AISOC 2000, 18).

In the case of Cornish its initial revival was quite definitely within an educated and middle-class circle. The later revival has broadened considerably in social spread. The (skilled-manual) working-class speakers were well represented in the focus groups and social encounters with Cornish speakers in this study. In terms of age-profile, this research points to a representative spread across the age-spectrum.

The estimates of general language ability in Cornish as reported by face-to-face informants and at focus group meetings varied quite widely in individual instances. In some cases a personal estimate might be a wild guess-and in other cases quite a considered evaluation of evidence and experience (AISOL 2000, 19)



The levels of ability elicited extended from the minimalist position of 'a few words and phrases' (e.g. Knowing that 'Kernow' means 'Cornwall', etc.) to speaking on complex or special topics.

(The following is taken from *An Independent Academic Study on Cornish* 2000, 20).

TABLE 3.1. IMPRESSIONS OF NUMBERS SPEAKING CORNISH AT DIFFERENT ABILITY LEVELS				
Cornish language Ability levels	Impressions of members of Focus groups		Impressions of activists	
	<i>Kemmyn</i>	<i>Unified</i>	<i>Late/Modern</i>	<i>All forms of Cornish</i>
ON COMPLEX/ SPECIAL TOPICS	200	150	100	445
FLUENT EVERYDAY CONVERSATION	22	585	363	840
SIMPLE CONVERSATIONS	3,000	1,000	500	2,900
SIMPLE SENTENCES	5,000	1,500	4,000	5,437
A FEW WORDS AND PHRASES	300,000	175,000	55,000	2,275
NUMBER IN GROUP	26	14	20	11

More realistic results were obtained from those specifically representing the three main organisations in reporting the language abilities of their known membership.

Table 3.2 below summarises the opinions of leading members of the language organisations concerning the language abilities of their members. Greater confidence can thus be placed on these findings. Cornish may however also be acquired quite independently of these means. Some effective learners may not have taken any examinations or been received as language-bards.

TABLE 3.2 ESTIMATES OF MEMBERS' ABILITY BY REPRESENTATIVES OF LANGUAGE GROUPS				
CORNISH LANGUAGE ABILITY LEVELS	KEMMYN	UNIFIED	LATE/MODERN	TOTAL
ON COMPLEX/ SPECIAL TOPICS	100	10	10	120
FLUENT EVERYDAY CONVERSATION	200	20	25	245
SIMPLE CONVERSATIONS	150	15	30	195
SIMPLE SENTENCES	35	15	30	80
A FEW WORDS AND PHRASES	10	20	60	90
LEARNERS IN CLASSES	285	80	80	445
LEARNERS BY CORRESPONDENCE	297	25	3	325
LANGUAGE MAGAZINES	300	50	100	450



Today estimates of numbers of speakers can run into several hundred, but speakers of Kemmyn fairly consensually estimated around two hundred effective speakers. Unified Cornish (Revised) claims about 20. Late/Modern Cornish speakers claimed around 25. Numbers in other areas where the language is known to be studied (including those outside the UK) can only be conjectural.

Questions on numbers learning Cornish and using it within the family amongst the 17 language activists interviewed produced mean estimates of:

- 459 adults learning the language.
- 126 learners under 16.
- 171 persons using the language in family life.
- 20 children acquiring the language as 'native speakers'.
- 85 acquiring knowledge of the language otherwise within their families.

Again, it must be stressed that without a representative and targeted language use survey these results are a matter for individual conjecture.

The results of this study suggest that there may be about 300 effective speakers of Cornish (with about 30 reported for the London area). This estimate is based upon numbers passing the Language Board examinations at highest grades in recent years, together with language bards received previously.

If this estimate is realistic, this study in contacting some 84 Cornish speakers, encountered between a quarter and one-third of the speech-community.



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## 14- Education

According to An Independent Academic Study on Cornish (2000,27), respondents in this study 'frequently raised the issue of educational provision for Cornish as a problem area'. The future prospects for the language were seen as very much 'bound up with opportunities to learn it in both adult and school-level education'.

The development of pre-school and primary education through the medium of the language has been a means of Welsh regaining demographic normality, and of encouraging demographic development for both Gaelic and Irish.

The following, written on An Academic Independent Study (2000, 27) specifically on Adult Education classes, applies here,

There had been adult education classes in Cornish in both Cornwall and London before the war. These were conducted by Morton Nance at St Ives and elsewhere by A.S.D Smith. In 1933 Smith noted classes in seven Cornish towns, involving 60 adult learners.

Classes continued throughout the war years. In the post-war period classes resumed in Cornwall, and in London at the City Lit.

In 1967 the Cornish Language Board was set up by the Gorseth and the Old Cornwall Federation. This took over the business of running examinations in Cornish which the Gorseth had previously itself undertaken. (ACSOC 2000,27)

These examinations were in three grades, with proficiency being marked by being received by the Gorseth as a language bard. Initially the examinations were at three grades with a language proficiency test, taking students to a little beyond GCE O-Level equivalent. 'The 1984 Report on the State of the Language notes that by 1983/84 the numbers of adults education classes in Cornwall had increased to eighteen in different towns of Cornwall' (ACSOC 2000,27).

The Language Board was producing grammars and learning materials for its then three grades of language proficiency and was conducting examinations. 'The examinations are now organised across four grades, with additional focus on culture and history. More recently a fifth grade has been introduced under aegis of the Institute of Linguistics'. (AIASOC 2000, 27).

Cornwall is not unique on the subject of teaching Cornish,

Outwith Cornwall there are classes in London at three levels at the City Lit (in Kemmyn), at Bristol (in Unified) and in Australia. Tutors are generally well experienced often as longstanding language bards, with Language Board qualifications at highest grades (AIASOC 2000, 28)

For Kemmyn and Unified Cornish the Language Board provides 'an examination scheme, which extended to a fourth grade from 1989, which takes account of Cornish literature and culture, and more recently an advanced Level Five, in conjunction with the Institute of Linguists.' Moderation and validation are provided by 'the Modern language Advisor of the Cornwall Education Authority, and there are active links with the Welsh Language Board.' (AIASOC 2000, 28)

The adult education classes in Late/Modern Cornish are not on the whole geared towards examinations as such.

\* Classes at Truro have utilised an NVQ type of attainment testing validated by CENTRA, a Lancashire-based organisation. This body has now merged with several others, including the South West Association for Education and Training'. (AICS 2000,28).

Age-profiles of learners are generally reported as predominantly middle-aged (65% in 30s and 40s, with perhaps 10% aged under 30, and 25% aged 50 and over).

People can also learn Cornish by correspondence from all over the world.

*Kernewek dre Lyther* was established in 1982/83 and the correspondence tuition is also organised by *Agan Tavas* in Unified Cornish, and by *Teer ha Tavaz* for Late/Modern Cornish (AICS 2000, 28).

The most recent study on Cornish Language provision is that of Professor Ken Mackinnon.

It can be found on the G.O.S.W. web site [www.gosw.gov.uk](http://www.gosw.gov.uk). Under 'publications'.

While there is steady progress in the growth of Cornish, the language movement faces a number of issues which have had the effect of retarding development.

In comparison the recent successes in the Isle of Man both in setting up their Manx medium primary unit and the increase in the number of speakers shows how successful language development can be when supported by, in their case, autonomous government.



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## The Cornish Language in schools

In the early revival, Cornish was introduced into local authority schools by revivalists like Edwin Chirgwin who were also teachers.

In the course of time it became possible to take Cornish at secondary school level through a GCSE Mode 3 scheme which was operated by the Welsh Board. Cornish began to feature in the local authority system where there were teachers able and interested to teach it-as at Helston where Richard Gendall taught languages for many years. (AISOC 2000, 29).

Before the 1980s the number of schools teaching Cornish was very small, involving only a handful of pupils.

The 1984 State of the Language Report noted seven schools where Cornish had been taught up to that time. Five were at primary level... There were only two secondary schools reporting as teaching the language (AISOC 2000, 29).

For the purposes of the present study a survey was undertaken by the Modern Languages Advisor who circulated all local authority schools regarding their present (1999/2000) provision for Cornish language. This varied from school to school.

'Although Cornish is taught in Cornwall's schools, those that do so are few in number, and involve a relatively small number of pupils'. Current provision is generally extra-curricular in the form of lunchtime or after-school classes and clubs.

'With the devolution of resource management and policy to schools, provision for Cornish language is now a matter for individual schools rather than overall local authority direction'.

Funding difficulties can hinder some development, as can the availability of suitable qualified teachers.

In many cases Cornish is taught by one of the school's own teachers, and sometimes as part of the Cornish Studies programme. In other cases there is a visiting teacher who is paid from school funds or from charges made for extracurricular activities (AISOC 2000, 29).

At primary school level some form of actual teaching of the language was reported at 12 schools. As a summary taken from the AISOC (2000, 29-30) we can get,

- ❖ Years three and four topic-based classes for twenty minutes per week
- ❖ Three terms with a teacher remunerated by Verbal Arts Cornwall.
- ❖ Years three to six as part of the curriculum, and there is also a Cornish language club.

- ❖ Cornish taught by a visiting teacher in a weekly after school class.
- ❖ Cornish taught at a lunchtime club to six year pupils
- ❖ Cornish is used in assemblies, and for registers with both Key Stage One.

## Secondary schools

Four schools were identified as providing teaching in Cornish.

As the study shows, a summary could be:

There are lunchtime clubs preparing for the Language Board's new modular examinations. Examinations are moderated through the County Education Authority's Advisor for Modern languages and validated by the QCA (AISOC 2000, 30)

There are no degree schemes in Cornish language anywhere-let alone degree schemes taught through the medium of Cornish, as there are in Welsh, Irish and Gaelic contexts.

'Cornish has been taught as a subject in the University of Wales at Aberystwyth and Lampeter.' (AISOC 2000,31).

In 1972 the Institute of Cornish Studies was established by the University of Exeter and Cornwall County Council.

It is located in Truro, with a permanent staff of director, secretary and full time research fellows. It produces an academic journal, 'Cornish Studies' which reflects its work, encompassing not only archaeology and history (the specialities of the Institute's first and current directors) but also language and culture, natural history and the environment, social and economic fields. It has developed new perspectives in cultural history, the Cornish language and its revival, migration and social issues such as housing and health in Cornwall, Cornish literature and tourism.

The University of Exeter has recently introduced two higher degree schemes through the Institute of Cornish Studies: an M.A. in Cornish Studies and an M.A. in Celtic Studies. These degrees may include Cornish language studies.

For the language to progress within the education system it needs to be more clearly indicated within the schools curriculum, as the other Celtic languages are within their own systems.

In order for it to be more widely taught, with some place for it within the school day as well as in extra-curricular classes and clubs, it would need the support of properly resourced and remunerated peripatetic teachers. Where teachers without Cornish language proficiency wished to introduce the language, resource packages and videos would be required. (AISOC 2000, 32)

To provide these would require funding and resourcing. A decision would also have to be made concerning the form of Cornish to be used in these classes. Local management of schools was also frequently cited as a difficulty in making a place for Cornish within school life, and funding resources for it.



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## 15- Home and family life

An Academic Independent Study on Cornish (2000, 21) can report meetings with children who were heard 'unprompted to speak the language with their parents, and vice versa'. Although the number of these cases is not large, this achievement without any large measure of official impetus to do so (as in the Republic of Ireland) , and in the context of a small -scale and largely self-resourced language movement is noteworthy.

'Impressions communicated in focus groups of numbers of homes where some Cornish might be used at some time during the typical day ranged from 'very few' to 'maybe 250'.

Participants also frequently commented on 'their own early experiences in having had some Cornish phrases taught to them at home'

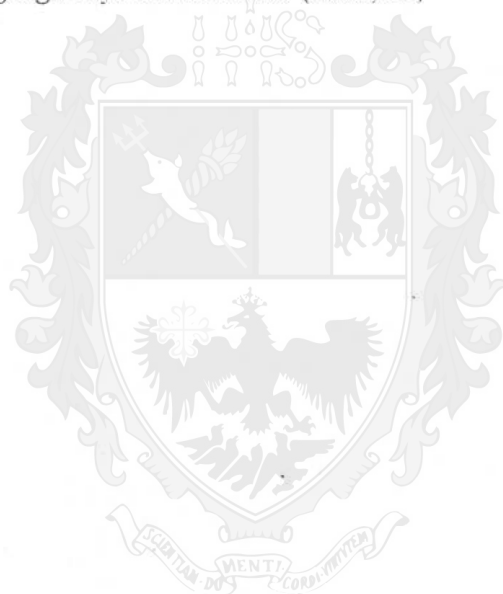


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## 16- Social Life outwith the home.

The study (2000, 21) points out that 'opportunities to use the language in general social life often have to be specifically made'. Respondents often mentioned the nearby presence of other Cornish speakers in their local areas, and reported using Cornish for normal everyday encounters in streets and shops, etc. 'Otherwise the language organisations arrange activities such as 'fun days', rambles in the country, day events, YETH an WERIN (Language of the People-social meetings in pubs, etc) language weekends and language festivals' (2000,21)

Entertainment will often provide a focus for language users to meet for 'the crack' and to use the language conversationally.' In autumn a major folk festival LOWENDER PERAN takes place at Perranporth and this features Cornish as a platform and performance language, along with special language days and activities (2000, 22)



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## 17- Public ritual, ceremony and services.

On this subject the study shows on page 22 that 'from the beginnings of the revival such uses as the Gorseth ceremonies, and religious services have provided a 'high domain' of everyday language use'.

Cornish language services now take place 'at least once a month. Some co-ordination of this activity is affected by the Bishop of Truro's Ecumenical Advisory group on Services in Cornish set up in 1974' (2000,22).

Although all services are ecumenical, the main providers are Anglican, Methodist and Catholic.

There is an annual St Piran's Day Commemorations (5-6<sup>th</sup> March) where Cornish language plays as well as ceremonial, are provided. That is a good opportunity for language users to congregate together in a more secular way.



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## 18- The Arts

'They operate as opportunities for Cornish speakers and learners to come together and use the language either as performers or audiences. As in the case with other Celtic languages they form an important overall part of the language 'scene' (AISON 2000, 24)

The dance movement has expanded as CAN KERNEWEK developed new shoots, and new groups formed.

We can include:

*ROS KELTEK (Celtic Rose)*

*TAN HA DOWNR (Fire and water)*

*OTTA NY MOAZ (Look at us, go!)*

*ASTEVEERYN (Replenishment)*

*DALLA (Origin, dazzling)*

*SOWENA (Good health, prosperity)*

*THE BOLINGEY TROY BAND, etc.*

More recently, the study shows that the Cornish language has been celebrated in pop and rock music.

There are several groups using Cornish, including: *Skwardya* (Ripping), *Mamvro* (Mother Land), and an annual *Car Rak. Kernow* (song for Cornwall) event in which Cornwall's nomination for the Pan-Celtic Song Festival is chosen. Today's lively Cornish music scene comes together at events like the now week-long *LOWENDER PERAN* (Joy of Perran) at Perranporth which since 1978 has extended its tourist season to mid -October, and *Racca Day* at Bodmin in February.

'The work of Richard Gendall as short story writer and songwriter must be mentioned. His Cornish language songs were featured by the late Cornish folksinger Brenda Wootton and were popular at events and festivals and recordings throughout Cornwall and beyond' (AICS 2000,16).

The Gorseth has since 1928 been the principal patron of the Cornish language arts. Its annual meeting in early September is the means of encouraging literary and artistic composition in a wide variety of genres for both young people and adults.

'Cornish language theatre and poetry have the capacity to reach widespread and local audiences. Pol Hodge for example as a Cornish-language poet, has undertaken over 1220 poetry readings since October 1994 (with a mean attendance of 50), has published a collection of verse and has made a feature film on his work.' (AISOC 2000, 25).

Wild West Films have made:

*AN DEWETH GERYOW A DOLLY PENTREATH* (The last words of Dolly Pentresth)

*LINNYNNAU SAFRON* (Saffron Threads)

*LEDYANS LEVEN DHE GERNOW GAROW* (A Smooth Guide to a Rough Cornishman)

*SPLATT DHE WERTHA* (Plot for Scale). This last, a short surrealist comedy, won the festival Golden Torc award at the 18<sup>th</sup> Celtic Film and Television Festival held in St Ives in April 1997. The availability of these productions on video as well as the broadcast media represents a significant advance in the uses and genres of the language (AISONC 2000, 25).



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## 19- The Media (TV programmes and radio programmes).

An AISOC (2000, 25) reports,

Cornish has only recently begun to be used again in broadcasting media. There is a half-hour Cornish language programme on Sundays on BBC Radio Cornwall.

Cornish language television has been developed under West County TV and some half-hour Cornish language features and films have been broadcast.. The Regional Film Archive, covering both BBC and ITV in the south west region, has traced the use of Cornish language in regional programming back to 1962. Use in films can be traced back at least to the 1940s.' (AISOC 2000, 25)

As I have mentioned before language display through public signage has played a remarkable role for the 'visibility' of Cornish. As an example, outside Penzance station is a granite block stating 'PENSANS A'GAS DYNARGH- Penzance welcomes you'.

According to the AISOC (2000, 25) 'District Councils are the authorities for roads and street naming... That such uses are now to be found is an indication of the progress made by the language revival in making a wider public aware of the language and in developing goodwill towards it'.

In the St Ives and Penwith area this was done prior to the Inter-Celtic Film Festival in 1997. One of the problems here is which form of the language will be chosen. In this last case it was Kemmyn.

There is no other way to increase the number of people speaking the language other than by their example. They are demonstrating that there is a place in their everyday lives. No language will grow with only exams and ideas. It will rise again and re-live in the mouths of those who lead it, on the tongue of those who love it, on the breath of those who use it even though they are 'learners'.

The Cornish are being called now to write to the Government to protest at its failure to ratify the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages. Sandercock's (2001, 5) comment reflects this,

But despite ratifying the treaty to give extended protection to Welsh, Scots Gaelic and Irish Gaelic, the government has ignored calls to recognize Cornish... Ratification of the Charter would mean protection for the language as it currently exists... The Scots and Welsh have their own government departments and assemblies. A key problem with the Cornish claim is that there is no government department to deal with it.

'The implication is that revival or restoration efforts, attempts to bring a language back to life, as it were, are quite unlikely to succeed if the focus is solely or mainly linguistic' (Edwards, 1995, 9).



The Council of Europe has already agreed to consider Cornwall's concerns. Campaigners are particularly annoyed after it was revealed two dialects of English were being given protection-Scots and Ulster Scots- while Cornish was not.

'The Cornish are not seeking the same level of funding or recognition granted to Welsh or Scots but even the limited assurances they have sought have been denied.'  
(Sandercock 2001, 15)



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## 20- Books and plays

According to AISOC (2000,11) in 1983 the Language Board recognised a body concerned with Bible translation: '*Kescoweth Treloryon Scriptor Sans* (Fellowship of Translators of Holy Scripture). This has now been superseded by the work of Keith Syed of Charlton Kings, who has a complete translation in hand of the whole biblical cannon from the original languages. It is hoped to publish the whole Bible in the near future.'

From its inception in 1925 OLD CORNWALL regularly carried items in Cornish, and together with the specifically Cornish language periodical press an increasing output of verse, short stories and prose articles has continued with increasing momentum.

A collection *AN DEN ha'Y DHEN WREG* (The Man and His Two Wives) in 1927. Both Nance and Peggy Pollard wrote several plays in Cornish. *THE GOSPEL OF MARK* was the first complete book of the Bible to be translated in full, by A.S.D. Smith in 1960. Nance published a collection of folk tales in Cornish in 1939 *LYVER AN PYMP MARTHUS SELEVEN* (Book of Five Miracles of St. Selevan).

On page 16 the study mentions some works published after the war:

A.S.D. Smith's *Nebes Whythlow Ber* (A Few Short Stories, 1947)  
*An Seyth Den Fur a Rom* (The Seven Stages of Rome, 1948)  
*Trystan Hag Ysolt* (Tristan and Iseult a verse saga, in 1951)

Berresford Ellis takes the account as far as 1974, and Tim Saunders to 1980. His poem collection, *The High Tide* 1974-1999, spans this period and it epitomises a period of considerable literary growth, and a fivefold increase in numbers able to speak and read Cornish. Much of the literature of this period remains available. It is written in Unified Cornish, which makes it a little unfamiliar to Kemmyn and Modern/Late Cornish readers.

The bulk of literary output over recent years has been Kemmyn:

*An Lyverj Kernewek* (The Cornish Bookshop, Helston, from 1997)  
*Swynn ha DV* (Black and White- Liskeard, from July 1998).  
*Just Cornish* (*St Just*, from May 1999). These enterprises are all essentially committed to Kemmyn, so it is difficult for production in the other language-varieties to find a specialist outlet.

However *An Lyverji* holds the bookstock for the Cornish Language Board- and hence has the Unified backstock, which it can supply. It currently carries a booklist of 110 titles in Cornish. These range over such genres as learners' materials, novels, short stories, verse and song, children's books, classic texts, and religious literature.

AGAN TAVAS has published the New Testament in Unified Cornish as a complete work in 1974. The four gospels have been translated and published separately over a period of years and work is now in progress on translating the Acts of the Apostles (Unified Cornish is the only form of ~~spelling~~ recognised by the Church of England for liturgical use

The Cornish Language Board has printed two out of three parts of the *Ordinalia*, the medieval religious dramas which is the most important work of literature, in Unified Cornish.

## 21- Magazines and newspapers.

### Magazines

The AIASOC (2000,10) reports *AN LEF KERNEWEK*, a Cornish-language periodical re-established in 1952, 'under the initial editorship of Richard Gendall, contemporary written Cornish again found an outlet. The editorship subsequently passed to E.G.R. Hooper who continued the magazine until 1983.'

Gendall launched another magazine in May 1956, entitled *HEDHYU* (Today) which ceased publication in 1961. A most influential work for teachers and learners of this period (1970) was undoubtedly Gendall's *KERNEWEK BEW* (Living Cornish). At the time, it was regarded as the 'last word' in teaching materials.

One of the most significant and exciting developments was the birth of *DALLETH* (Beginning). By the end of the 1970s it was seen that despite the ever-increasing facilities for the learning, practice and use of Cornish, the activities were organized with adults in mind.

To revive a language one needs young speakers. On October 1979 *DALLETH* was launched within the aim of publishing children's books and promoting opportunities for children of all ages to learn the language.

*AN LEF KERNEWEK* in Camborne undertook some publication of Cornish language texts. This magazine was in the thirties called *KERNOW*.

*TRO TEERE ha TAVAZ IS* a magazine that encourages social events to encourage spoken Cornish in Australia.

*AN GANNAS*, A Cornish- language magazine (The Ambassador) was established from 1976. The *KOWETHAS an YETH KERNEWEK* publishes this magazine. *KOWETHAS*, during the year, organizes a number of language days, often supported by Cornish music and dancing, which give Cornish speakers the opportunity of meeting together in a Cornish speaking environment.

It is literally translated. It is a sixteen-page monthly journal that extends from poetry and music to politics and finance-all in Cornish (from *THE CORNISH WORLD ISSUE 26. JULY/AUG/ SEP/2001*), page 14)

*KERNEWEK DRE LYTHER* (Cornish by post). Teacher and representative in North America. Benjamin Bruch, P.O.Box 391804, Cambridge MA. USA. They publish a quarterly periodical called *AN KESS FRIFER* entirely in Cornish.

Cornish literary magazines have greatly stimulated literary production. In the thirties, the AISOC (2000, 16) mentions *KERNOW* (Cornwall), which developed after the war into *AN LEF KERNEWEK*. More recently there has been *DELYOW DEROW* (Oak Leaves), taking this tradition of letters in Unified Cornish up to 1996.

*AN GARRACK*: mostly in Modern Cornish.

*CARN*: a Link between the Celtic Nations.

In 1987 the Cornish Language Board decided on a five-year period in order to make the change from Unified Cornish to Common Cornish (Exams were to be offered in Unified for as long as was needed.)

Basically the sound system of Unified has been slightly amended, some of the grammar has been simplified and words borrowed from the other Brythonic Celtic languages have been replaced with words of genuine Cornish origin albeit that they are often words adopted into Cornish from English (Carn n 900, p.19. Winter 1997/1998).

*Cornish World Magazine*: For lovers of Cornwall at home and abroad. From 1993, it is now Cornwall's largest, most influential and longest running cultural and heritage magazine and is still independently owned. Cornish World helps those who have suffered, or are suffering, from mental ill health by providing pathways back to employment. ([www.cornishworldmagazine.co.uk](http://www.cornishworldmagazine.co.uk)).

*Cornwall Today*: Cornwall's premier magazine.

*Penwith Magazine*: Internet magazine with articles by local people. ([www.penwithmagazine.co.uk](http://www.penwithmagazine.co.uk).)

*Agan Tavas*: Currently *Agan Tavas* is endeavouring to consolidate support for Unified Cornish by encouraging people who have become less active in the language movement to become members and work on behalf of Unified Cornish. They have classes using Unified Cornish to continue to do so. In Australia they organize social events for members and people studying through Unified Cornish and encourage people connected with other cultural organizations to take an interest in the language.

They have strong links with *DYLLANSOW TRURAN*, the major publisher for books in Cornish, who has recently reprinted the 1938 Dictionary.

*Agan Tavas* also publishes a bilingual magazine twice yearly, and it is called *AN GOWSVA*.

*An Balores* (The Chough), a North American publication which provides a literary medium for all three revived Cornishes.

Its aims are to promote the Cornish Language in North America and to support learners and speakers of Cornish both in North America and overseas in whatever Cornish orthography they use.

Articles deal with information about the history of the language, its literature, language lessons at all skill levels in Kemmyn, Unified or Unified Cornish Revised, a calendar of upcoming events in North America and Cornwall, book reviews and original Cornish writing.

## Newspapers

Since 1801, newspapers have been published in Cornwall. A detailed description of them and the location and completeness of archives can be found on the Hampshire County Council page, who hosted the South Western Regional Library System's working group of the British Library Newspaper Library (BLNL) Newsplan Project. The BLNL has an online catalogue of their holdings. What follows is a summary of the more useful ones. Most can be found, either in the BLNL, the RIC, the Morrab Library, or CSL:

Major stories will also appear in other papers from around the country (or world), for example the story of the Newlyn Riots in 1886 which is transcribed from the Sunderland Echo. Here is a list of the most famous ones:

*Tresco Times*. 'Our views are clear'.

*Cornwall Gazette and Falmouth Packet*. (1801-02), Falmouth.: of interest because it is the earliest and predecessor of the Royal Cornwall Gazette (below) and the Cornish Herald. 85 issues were published between 7<sup>th</sup> March 1801 and 16<sup>th</sup> October 1801 and the only complete set is in the RIC. The BLNL have a microfilm.

*The Media Team*: design, print and publishing services in Callington and Plymouth.

*Royal Cornwall Gazette*: (1803-1951) Truro with county coverage. Historically this was a newspaper with Tory leanings. 1803-1810: is in the RIC except 5 issues from 1806. Four of these can be found in the Somerset Record Office. From 1808 copies can be found in the RIC, CSL (incomplete) and the Morrab Library. From 1811, it has been microfilmed by the BLNL except 64 scattered issues all before 1923. The CSL web site claims this was published from 1801 but they may be referring to the *Cornwall Gazette* above. In 1951 it merged with the *West Briton*.

*West Briton* (1810-now), Truro with county coverage. A rival to the Royal Gazette, this was a newspaper with Whig (Liberal) leanings. A set, complete but for the first 10 issues, is in the RIC. BLNL holds a complete set to 1830. The CSL and Truro Library have a complete set.

*Penzance (and Cornwall) Gazette*.: (1839-58), Penzance. Issue 1 was published in 16<sup>th</sup> September 1839 and it continued as the *Penzance Gazette* until issue 793 on 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1855. Then it became the *Penzance and Cornwall Gazette* for a further 162 issue until 27<sup>th</sup> 1858. The only complete set is in the BLNL, though the CSL claims to have them as well.

*Cornish Telegraph, Mining, Agricultural and Commercial Gazette*: (1851-1915), Penzance. 2277 issues were published between 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1851 and 14<sup>th</sup> January 1915 at which point it became incorporated into *The Cornishman* reports that it began in 1850 and was purchased by *The Cornishman* in 1908 but continued as a distinct Newspaper (presumably until 1915).

The BLNL microfilm lacks parts of 5 years (1868-69, 72,97 and 1912). With the exception of the first 5 months of 1868, these can be found in the Morrab Library.

*Cornish Evening Tidings* (1871-1944). This started as *The Tidings*, later the *Evening Tidings* (from 1886-1908) and then to the *Cornish Telegraph and Evening Tidings* for just a few days before settling on the *Cornish Evening Tidings* on 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1908. It was reported that it began in 1870 and was purchased by *The Cornishman* in 1908 (hence the name hiatus) but continued as a distinct newspaper (presumably until 1944).

The first extant issue is numbered 84 and there are many missing until 1875. The BLNL microfilm lacks 7 years (1879, 1893, 1896-98 and 1880-81 are in poor condition). These can all be found in the Morrab Library.

*Cornish Weekly Newspapers*: The parent company of several papers.

*The Cornishman* (1878-now), Penzance. This paper has a long and distinguished history complicated by many local editions in recent years.

It started as a single edition on 18<sup>th</sup> July 1878 with issue 1 which continued until 16<sup>th</sup> November 1944 with issue 4830. From then on local editions were published for *Camborne, St Ives, the Scilly Isles and Helston*. These were essentially the same paper with additional local material on special pages. *The St Ives* edition went from issue 4922 on 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1946 until issue 5193 on 8<sup>th</sup> November 1951 when it became the *West Penwith* edition, *Penzance* having earlier split off for its own version on 4<sup>th</sup> November 1948 with issue 5037. These two editions ran in parallel until issue 6717 on 26<sup>th</sup> March 1981 when they re-united as the *Penzance and West Penwith* edition for a further 5 years. On 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1986 (issue 6964) it became the *Penzance and District* edition and on 14<sup>th</sup> February 1991 (issue 7239) variations were introduced for *Land's End and Penwith Rural*. Meanwhile, on 5<sup>th</sup> January 1984 with issue 6861, a *St Ives and Hayle* edition was spun off which further divided to separate *St Ives and Hayle* editions on 1<sup>st</sup> February 1990 (issue 7176). It is understood that these five editions (*Penzance, Land's End, Rural, St Ives and Hayle*) are still going together with the successors to the *Scilly and Camborne* editions. The *Helston* edition which became the *Kerrier* edition was discontinued in 1984.

The BLNL have all the editions mentioned above and the Morrab Library have a bound collection which is rapidly deteriorating due to poor storage facilities. The CSL have a full set as does the Penzance Library.

*St. Ives Weekly Summary, Visitors' List and Advertiser*: (1889-1918), St. Ives: Started with the first issue on 25<sup>th</sup> May 1889. This continued until 18<sup>th</sup> April 1918 when it was incorporated into *The Cornishman*.

The best collection is held in the offices of the 'St Ives Times and Echo' which may not be accessible. The CSL and St Ives Library have it from 1893.

*Western Echo*: (1899-1957), St Ives: The first issue was on 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1899 and there were 2962 more before it merged with the *St. Ives Times* after the issue of 28<sup>th</sup> January 1957.

The BLNL microfilm (for the CSL) lacks the first three years. The remainder, except 60 issues, can be found in the St Ives Museum.

*St. Ives Times (and Echo)*: (1910-now, St. Ives). The Echo name was added in 1957 when the *Western Echo* was incorporated. The first three years only exist in the offices of the newspaper. Later editions may be found in the collections of the St. Ives Trust Archive Study Centre. The CSL has bound paper copies of the *St. Ives Times* from 1913-71. The *Times and Echo* (from 1972 to date) are in the CSL and the St. Ives Library.

The BLNL collection starts with issue 162 (31<sup>st</sup> October 1913).

*Penzance and District News and Advertiser* (1933, Marazion). This was a short lived name (6 editions from 29<sup>th</sup> March to 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1933) for the Marazion and District Advertiser which later became the Marazion and Portleven Advertiser which ran, in total, from 1920 to 1942. The BLNL have a set.



*Penzance Shopper (The Packet)*. (1985-95), Penzance. A variant of the *Truro Shopper*, a free distribution advertising sheet. This started with issue 114 on 6<sup>th</sup> January 1985 until 11<sup>th</sup> April when it changed its name to *the Packet* ( it may have been taken over by the publishers of the *Hayle and St. Ives Packet* which started on 12<sup>th</sup> January 1989 and produced 129 issues up to 27<sup>th</sup> June 1991). A set is in the CSL and Penzance Library. The BLNL have only copies up to 489 (1992).

*Penzance, Hayle and St. Ives leader*. (1990-now). Another free distribution advertising sheet. This started with issue 35 on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1990 (presumably having started elsewhere). The St. Ives was dropped in 1992.

The BLNL have a copy on microfilm.

Two other newspapers are worthy of mention, *The Cornubian* and *The Hayle Mail*. From 1911 to 1917 these newspapers published a regular letter from Sid Blake in New York detailing all the people that passed through his hotel which specialised in Cornish travels. Full details of these letters can be found on the *Cornish Letters from America* web site by George Pritchard. There is also a published index to some of these letters (*The Cornubian*) by Pam George.

*Nowodhow Kernow/Cornish News*: Latest news from Cornwall in Cornish.

**Cornish Centre/Kresenn Kernow: Alma Place Redruth. TR15 2AT.**  
[Cornishstudies.library@cornwall.gov.uk](mailto:Cornishstudies.library@cornwall.gov.uk).

### Cornish Newspapers in Cornwall's Libraries.

- *Camborne Redruth leader: 1989 to 1995. Cornish Studies.*
- *Camborne Redruth Packet: 1955 to 1961. Cornish Studies and Camborne. 1970 to date. Cornish Studies and Camborne.*
- *Cornish & Devon Post: 1877 to date. Cornish Studies and Launceston. 1877 to 1943. Bude.*
- *Cornish Echo (formerly Falmouth & Penryn Weekly Times): 1895 to 1952. Cornish Studies and Falmouth.*
- *Cornish Guardian: 1901 to date. Cornish Studies. Bodmin, Newquay and St Austell.*
- *Cornish Times : 1857 to date. Cornish Studies and Liskeard.*
- *Cornish Times (Launceston edition): 1857 to 1859. Cornish Studies and Launceston.*
- *Cornubian (formerly Redruth Times): 1850 to 1925. Cornish Studies.*
- *Cornwall Courier: 1975 to 1986. Cornish Studies. 1977 to 1986. Bodmin.*
- *East Cornwall Times. : 1859 to 1877. Cornish Studies and Launceston.*



- *Falmouth & Penryn Weekly Times (cont. as Cornish Echo): 1861 to 1895. Cornish Studies and Falmouth.*
- *Falmouth Packet & Cornish Herald: 1829 to 1848. Cornish Studies and Falmouth.*
- *(Lake's) Falmouth Packet: 1858 to date Cornish Studies and Falmouth.*
- *Helston, Hayle and The Lizard Leader: 1988 to 1995. Cornish Studies.*
- *Helston Packet: 1972 to date. Cornish Studies.*
- *Launceston & Bude Gazette (cont. as Journal Gazette): 1988 to 1990. Cornish Studies.*
- *Launceston Weekly News: 1856 to 1866. Cornish Studies and Launceston. 1906 to 1931. Cornish Studies (in store).*
- *Newquay Express: 1905 to 1945. Cornish Studies. 1905 to 1937. Newquay.*
- *Newquay Guardian (formerly Newquay Express): 1946 to 1955. Cornish Studies.*
- *Packet (Penzance edition): 1992 to 1995. Cornish Studies and Penzance.*
- *Peninsular West: 1972 to 1974. Cornish Studies.*
- *Redruth Independent: 1879 to 1895. Cornish Studies (in store).*
- *Redruth Times (continued as Cornubian): 1867 to 1879. Cornish Studies.*
- *St. Austell Advertiser: 1973 to 1974.*
- *St. Austell Star: 1889 to 1915.*
- *St. Ives Times: 1913 to 1971. St. Ives (bound paper copies)*
- *St. Ives Weekly Summary: 1893 to 1918. Cornish Studies and St. Ives.*
- *Sherborne Mercury: 1737 to 1867. Cornish & County Ref (Truro).*
- *Truro Leader: 1990 to 1995.*
- *Truro Packet: 1986 to date. Cornish Studies & County Ref (Truro).*
- *West Briton Argos: 1988 to 1990. Cornish Studies & County Ref. (Truro).*
- *Western Morning News (West Cornwall edition): 1977 to date. Cornish Studies (in store).*
- *Western Star: 1894 to 1895. Cornish Studies.*

## 22- Institutions

One of the most obvious ways to protect a language is to establish a formal institution charged with this task.

Edwards (1995, 12) reports the first important body in Italy;

The Academia della Crusca, founded in Florence in 1582, acted to safeguard the Truscan dialect,...and which had emerged as a sort of central mediator between northern and southern Italian dialects.

Spain had its Real Academia Española, established in 1713 by the Bourbon King Philip V, and its motto, '*limpia, fija y da esplendor*,' makes clear the desire to clarify, purify and glorify the language.

This institution spread its influence with the Spanish Empire and, in due course, Spanish-language academics were set up in more than a dozen states in the world. These are now linked in an association pledged to the unity of Spanish.

David Crystal (2002, 133) wrote on the subject of linguistic rights, 'an endangered language will progress if its speakers increase their legitimate power in the eyes of the dominant community'.

At the end of the twentieth century indigenous languages, in many parts of the world, (specially Europe) emerged among leading political organizations.

These were inevitably focused on the position of lesser-used languages of Europe and the message was sent to other parts of the world concerned with language rights.

Crystal (2002, 133) outlines as follows,

In 1981, a milestone was passed when The European Parliament adopted a resolution, prepared by Gaetano Arfé (an Italian member of a parliamentary committee), proposing a Community Charter to deal with regional languages and cultures and the rights of ethnic minorities.

He also tells us that, 'in 1992 another milestone was reached when the Council of Europe adopted the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in the form of a convention' (Crystal 2002, 134)

This came into force on 1<sup>st</sup> March 1998. As a convention, it is legally protecting minority languages.

Other bodies mentioned by the author are:

- The Organization for security and Cooperation in Europe, which has helped to encourage the protection of minority languages, and
- The European Bureau for Lesser used Languages whose aim of conserving and promoting the regional, autochthonous languages and cultures of the European Union is another 'pulling' force.

On the wider world stage, UNESCO and the UN have produced various statements, 'such as the UN declaration on the Rights of Persons, belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, adopted in 1992'. (Crystal 2002, 135)

There is another important fact that he outlines,

Language, however, has tended to be just one of several cultural issues covered by these statements, hence the potential significance of the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights produced at Barcelona in 1996, with its primary focus on language (Crystal 2002, 135)

Notwithstanding the above comments, there are several countries in the world which are ignoring language rights rather than supporting them.

But at the same time, he takes the example of Paraguay, as this country provides an illustration of what can be done,

Probably the most heart-warming case is Paraguay, where Guaraní has come to be the chief sign of national identity, with official status (since 1992), enjoying widespread prestige, attracting great loyalty, and spoken by over 90 % of the population (Crystal 2002, 135).

Deacon (1996, 30) mentions a new movement called MEBYON KERNOW (Sons of Cornwall) that started on January 5<sup>th</sup> 1951, at Redruth. Their initial aim was 'to maintain the character of Cornwall as a Celtic region, to promote the interests of Cornwall and the Cornish people and to promote the constitutional advance of Cornwall together with its right to self-government in domestic affairs.'

Their policy towards the language revival was that, 'while recognising Cornwall must continue to use English as a medium.'

In May 1964 MEBYON KERNOW revised its aims. Deacon stresses that they were 'to maintain the Celtic character of Cornwall and its right to self-government in domestic affairs, to foster Cornish language, literature, culture and sport and to demand that Cornish children have the opportunity at school to learn about their own land and culture' (1996, 32).

As the language revival had given birth to a revival of political nationalism, so now did the political movement engender new life in the language movement.

The Centre for Theories of Language and Learning, of the University of Bristol, Department of Philosophy, published an article on the subject of conservation of Endangered languages in *Carn Magazine*, issue 100, page 40. This article was published in 2002, on the fact that the number of languages spoken around the world were currently in sharp decline.

The problem was officially addressed in 1992 by UNESCO, when its affiliate (CONSEIL INTERNATIONAL DE LE PHILOSOPHIE ET DES SCIENCES HUMAINES) ANNOUNCED A PROJECT TO COMPILE A 'Red Book' on Endangered Languages... A periodically updated record of the world's languages is published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

After a campaign lasting some seven years, it is understood that the UK government is about to specify Cornish Under Part II of the Council of Europe's Charter for Minority Languages.

According to the Institute of Cornish Studies of the University of Exeter, there is a wide range of organizations involved in, or connected with, the language.

Their research has identified a total of over 40 such bodies. These can be broadly categorised as: language organisations, dedicated to the promotion of the language; cultural organisations; organisations in politics active in religious life.

**THE GORSEDD. GORSETH KERNOW :THE GORSEDD OF CORNWALL.**  
(Founded at Boscawen-un near St Buryan in West Penwith).

As regards the **CORNISH WORLD MAGAZINE**, issue 27, the annual **GORSEDD** Ceremony takes place outdoors on the first Saturday in September. It is a colourful event, entirely in Cornish, which attracts a good number of spectators and helps publicise the language. Bards are received for proficiency in the language.

The Gorseth was founded in 1928 on the model of those already established in Wales and Brittany. It acted originally as the chief centre for language revival and came to produce examinations for language learners until this function was taken on by a specially constituted Language Board.

There is only one order of admission, quite deliberately to avoid distinctions of grade and hierarchy.

The Gorseth has promoted language and literary activities through both Unified and, more recently, Kemmyn varieties. Since last year (1999) it has admitted Late/Modern Cornish for its competition entries. It has also recently issued a book of prayers of Cornwall produced in all three language varieties. It has thus become an important institution which gives recognition for each form of the revived language. Its principal sources of income are the bard's annual subscriptions.

In 2001 the annual gathering of the boys and girls in light blue took place at St. Columb near Newquay on September 1<sup>st</sup> and was the first convened by new Grand Bard John Bolithe.

The Gorsedd is the cultural, literary and language body for Cornwall: a menagerie of poets and painters, high-minded academics and flighty dreamers, who keep alive the unique and vital living culture of Cornwall (from *The Cornish World*. Issue 26, p.35)

In ancient Celtic times the Bards were known for their scholarship in poetry, literature, art, music, history and folklore. (*The Cornish World*, Issue 27 p6).

It is non-political, non-religious and has no connections to Druidism or pagan practices.

A Gorsedd has been held every year since 1928 except for the war years 1939-1945.

More than 1000 men and women have been made bards and the present roll is 451,56 of whom live abroad, particularly in Australia where Cornish traditions are very strong.

The bards wear blue robes, officers being singled out by copper adornments, hand-beaten in Cornwall.

New bards are initiated by the Grand Bard, taking a bardic name that reflects their particular interests, career, place of origin or family connections.

The ceremony concludes with the swearing of fealty to Cornwall on the ceremonial sword and the singing of BRD GOTH AGAN TASOW- Old Land of Our Fathers.

All the Gorsedd Regalia are made of copper and carry boldly executed Celtic designs on a background of Celtic knotwork, with prominence being the symbol of the Gorsedd, the awen, which comprises three diverging lines introduced by Edwards Williams as a representation of the name of God.

The proceedings begin with the sounding of the horn CORN GWLAS as a symbolic call to the four LLANGOLLEN in 1924. (All is carried out exclusively in the Cornish Language with some parts translated into English as required).

After the ceremony of Peace, performed by the Grand Bard, the Gorsedd is declared open. The Ceremony of Offering of Fruits of the Earth is made by the Lady of Cornwall, escorted by the two young attendants, all three chosen annually for the past. This ceremony is very colourful because it is accompanied by groups of young dancers who perform to the music of the harp.

There is evidence that Gorsedhs were held in Britain since before the memory of man.

The usually practious Celtic tribes would declare a peace and gather together for celebrations and competitions of knowledge, music and poetry, thus creating and promoting a homogenous Brythonic culture.

In ancient Celtic times the Bards were the chief holders of the history and genealogies of the nations, reciting tales which glorified or ridiculed the recognised leaders amongst their ruling elites.

The arwon (three rays of the sun) on the headdress is the Gorsedh symbol.

*KESVA an TAVES*. The Cornish Language Board.

Maureen Pierce, General Secretary for this institution (letter sent to the author 2000).

Kernewek was founded in 1967 by the joint resolution of the GORSEDD OF CORNWALL and the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies. It is an elected body with official representation from Cornwall Council, the two founding organisations at the University of Plymouth.

It has links with BRWDD YR FAITH GYMRAEG, the Welsh language Board. It provides reliable information on all aspects of the revival, organises teaching, conducts examinations, publishes learning materials such as course books, grammars and dictionaries and other reference books as well as scholarly editions of the classical texts.

Without an official count of those who consider themselves to be speakers of Cornish it is difficult to arrive at an estimate since the criteria applied can vary greatly. However, attendance at classes and success in the examinations administered by the Cornish Language Board jointly with the Education Authority give a basis for providing a figure of for four to five thousand people who can speak Cornish ranging from those who are completely fluent, some three hundred, to those who claim to have a little Cornish. The only certainty is that the number has gone on increasing. Most speakers are to be found in Cornwall but there are others in Australia, Canada, the USA and mainland Europe.

The standardized system they called 'Unified Cornish' or Kernewek Unys, was proposed and adopted an improved system called 'Common Cornish' or Kernewek Kemmyn.

It has a membership of 21,15 of whom are elected every three years by a postal ballot amongst the embers of Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek. The remaining six members represent the Gorsedd (2), the Federation (2), the Institute of Cornish Studies (1) and Cornwall Council (1).

The activities of the Kesva are organised through the following committees:

- a) Examinations in 4 grades. Success at the 4<sup>th</sup> grade may be followed by an invitation from the GORSEDD to become a bard.
- b) Publication, mainly of a technical nature or from the classical texts as well as teaching material.
- c) Radio and television. This committee is responsible for organising the Sunday morning programme. 'Kroder Kroghen' on Radio Cornwall.
- d) Education-this includes evening classes and liaising with the Local Education Authority in providing in-service training for teachers. Art also produces material for use in schools.
- e) Grammar and vocabulary, which investigates specific linguistic problems.

The Kesva also organises the Mode 3 G.C.S.E. in Cornish and a correspondence course, Kernewek an Lyther, in which students can enrol since its inception in 1983.

Kesva receives grants of £5,000 spread over a four year period from Cornwall Council. The Language Board also receives instalments from the European Commission.

Grants are made for the specific purpose of researching and publishing works (as the Dictionary of Modern Cornish). Sales of books bring in a modest income.

Undoubtedly the most important project that the Kesva is currently with was the change-over from Unified to Kernewek Kemmyn. This culminated in the publication of a new Cornish/English Dictionary in 1992. The dictionary is available in three versions:

- a) AN GERLYVEER MEUR -the large dictionary
- b) AN GERLYVER KRES -an abbreviated version of (a)
- c) AN GERLYVER POKET - a handy pocket sized version.

Its turnover in the mostly recently completed financial year was in excess of £15,000 (1999). There have also been grants from: Heritage Lottery Fund; the Duke of Cornwall's Fund, for a dictionary, the European Commission for a grammar, and from Caradon and Carrick District Councils, for purchase of computers.

#### *KOWETHAS AN YETH KERNEWEK(The Cornish Language Fellowship)*

This is the members' organisation for the Kemmyn language-variety. According to Maureen Pierce it is the companion organisation of KESVA an TAVES. It publishes volumes of stories, plays, poems, songs, videos and the monthly all- Cornish magazine AN GANNAS. The KOWETHAS has for many years organised the Cornish weekend AN BENNEYTHUN



GERNEWEK which has now become extended to form THE CORNISH LANGUAGE FESTIVAL.

CORNISH WORLD MAGAZINE (issue 27, page 25) reflects one of Henry Jenner's ambitions : holding of ESETH VOS KERNOW, that is a National Cornish EISTEDDFOD like the National EISTEDDFOD of Wales. His ambition was realised for the first time in 1983 and a second ESETHVOS was held in 1986. However at the present time very few of the competitions have any connection with the Cornish language.

As the popularity of the revived language increased, the Cornish language Board felt the need in 1979 to form an association of people interested in Cornish-whether they were active students of the language or just wanted to offer the movement moral support- and this organisation 'The Cornish Language Fellowship' was formed.

It also holds an annual Language weekend at CARWORGY MANOR near Indian Queens and St Columb Major where Cornish is spoken, sung, learned and enjoyed in various ways.

It has an open membership policy, i.e. anyone who has an interest in the Cornish language, regardless of whether they can speak it or which system they prefer, can become a member. The current membership is 200+.

The Kowethas aims to widen the interest and support for Kernewek. It does this by:

- a) Producing a monthly all-Cornish magazine and a quarterly English newsletter.
- b) Organising an annual Pennseythun Gernewek (Cornish Language Weekend). This allows Cornish speakers of all abilities to improve and practise their Cornish through a mixture of lessons, walks, games, songs and general conversation. More than 80 people attended this year's bumper 4 day event (1984) and there are plans to possibly extend it by another day for next year.
- c) Organising 'DYDH LOWENDER'S' (Fun Days) where people can learn Kernewek through activities rather than formal lessons.
- d) Encouraging members to support the various 'YETH AN WERIN'S' which are regularly held throughout Cornwall. These meetings provide people with the opportunity to speak Cornish in a more informal atmosphere.
- e) Producing a wide range of over 25 books in both Unified and Common Cornish, as well as 3 tapes and a variety of mugs, t-shirts, etc.
- f) Increasing awareness amongst the general public about Cornish by mounting displays, information stalls, etc.

The Kowethas has never received any financial support from any other organisation. Its founding has had to be raised by its own activities, sales and occasional donations. A full statement of accounts is available on request.

Its medium term aims are the expansion of the production of books and audio-visual material, a comprehensive educational programme, in cooperation with Dalleth and the Kesva, for both adults and schools.

Long term aims include the financing and staffing of a permanent office and cultural centre, possibly in conjunction with other Cornish bodies.



It also organises the annual Goll an Yeth. This has grown out of the original weekends, Penseythun Kernewek, and some years has been attracting between 200-300 users and learners of Cornish.

Now it has a list of 124 titles in Kemmyn. The organisation works on an annual turnover of approximately £10,000.

The Kowethas offers a free advice and information service to any individual or organisation on any aspect of language including history, study, family and place names, naming children, streets, houses, boats or pets in Cornish, translation and the use of Cornish in business names and advertising.

The state of Cornish at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century has been compared with a camp fire that has been allowed to die down so that the smoke and flames can no longer be seen, yet those whose ashes although black and so that casual observer apparently lifeless are capable of re-kindling if raked together and blown upon with the addition of a little fresh combustible material.

*WARLINENN* is the Cornish Language Fellowship's new sit. We can get general information about Cornish and find out the latest about what is happening with the language campaign (it is in both Cornish and English)

#### *DALLETH* (Beginning)

In 1979 a number of parents of young children realising that if Cornish is to survive it must be taught to young children in conditions as near to a mother tongue as possible, formed an association called *DALLETH* meaning 'beginning'. This association produces books and other visual material as well as cassettes to help such parents and their children in both Unified Cornish and Kernewek Kemmyn.

Not to be outdone, adults also have their playgroups under the name of *YETH AN WERYN*, meaning 'Language of the People'. These meet in the more adult atmosphere of a local hostelry and speak and use Cornish in various ways. As well as being Cornish themselves, they give a chance to local people not involved in the language movement to hear it being spoken in a natural atmosphere.

Some members of *DALLETH* are working with the KESVA regarding the teaching of Kernewek in schools.

Dalleth receives no funding from other organisations which means that all activities have to be self-financing. Some income is derived from the sales of books or tapes, but equally, much of its finances are tied up in stock.

There were about six families at the time who were using the language in the home and raising children bilingually. It has been reported to the AISOC, 2000, that there are approximately 12 such children who have become 'native speakers' in this way.

## AGAN TAVAS

Agan Tavas was founded in 1987. An organisation to promote the use of Cornish as a spoken language. It was only possible to become a member by invitation and only people observed to be fluently using the Cornish Language at every possible opportunity were invited to become members. A badge was awarded to people who became members.

Agan Tavas produced tapes to encourage those learning Cornish to make use of it as a spoken language and acted as a pressure group to encourage the spoken word.

At the end of 1989 several members of Agan Tavas were unhappy with the decision of the Cornish Language Board to adopt a new phonemic spelling system and they therefore decided to reform Agan Tavas as a support group for the Unified Cornish Spelling and the speech and writing which has developed naturally over the years in Cornwall. Membership of Agan Tavas is now open to anyone who supports its aims and objectives.

Agan Tavas is not in a strong financial position and is unable to finance any major project itself.

What funds we have are earmarked for any administration costs only.

The 'Agan Tavas' badge-that is the green and white one-will be offered to people who have proved their ability to use Cornish everywhere and in every way possible.

It was formed to organise speakers using Nance's Unified Cornish. With the tripartite split, it continued in the form of an existing organisation staying with the original revived form of the language. It has an organising council COUNSEL AGAN TAVAS, and aims at 'including Kemmyn and Nowedja users in an inclusive and open way.' Postal tuition is provided, together with a website with internet learning.

Agan Tavas promotes learning Cornish relaxing, non-political and open to everyone and anyone.

### Lobbying for official status for Cornish

- ✓ Agan Tavas has successfully brought Cornish language broadcasting back to Radio Cornwall.
- ✓ Agan Tavas has been successful in getting the Cornish Language issue raised in parliament.

## Language publishing

Agan Tavas has recently produced the grammar 'CLAPPYA KERNOWEK', the soundest grammar book available in Cornish Today.

CLAS (Cornish Language Advisory Service) is an expert group concerned with the advancement of the Cornish language through a dialogue with UK and Local Government institutions and through sound academic research.

### TRO TEEREHA TAVAZ TEER HE TAVAZ: Land and Language.

The Land and Language Circle is a language social club for those wishing to speak Cornish and receive the magazine 'Teere ha Tavaz'. Formal membership was introduced in 1986 and some seventy people now receive the magazine.

This organization favours Modern/Late Cornish and its members are represented on The Cornish language Council /Cossel an Tavaz Cornoack.

This organization also suffers from a lack of funding. The Language Circle aims to continue the task of popularising Cornish through lively social events.

The validity of Modern Cornish was recognized by the University of Exeter when in 1983 the Director of TEERE HA TAVAZ was appointed as an Honorary research Fellow in the institute of Cornish Studies.

The TEER HA TAVAZ acts an imprimatur for publications and as a centre for language-related activities.

Cornish language classes are currently organised at Truro and St. Austell Colleges. Postal tuition is also undertaken. It has recently been assisted by a £1,000 grant for evening classes' needs.

### Camborne Cornish Language Society

This society was founded in October 1982 and they published then the following aims:

- 1) to widen the use of the Cornish Language in the Camborne area, wherever and as often as possible.
- 2) To cooperate with the National Cornish Language Fellowship.

Classes were held on Tuesday evenings throughout the year, and between 10 and 15 people attended.

In the summer they held an Open Day in the Donald Thomas Centre in the middle of the town. There were displayed studies of place names and surnames prepared by pupils of St John's school, a picture of the coast with the features named in Cornish and articles in the house with their names in Cornish prepared by pupils of Troon School; there were dances, songs and plays by pupils of the schools mentioned and Camborne School. 'Our support that they came from children, their parents and their teachers; not many of the public came along'.

#### AN GRESENN GERNEWEK (Cornish Centre)

The Cornish Language and Resource Centre was established in 1986 to provide courses, information and resources about all things Cornish in Cornwall. AN GRESENN GERNEWEK works closely with Kesva an Taves Kernewek to teach and promote the Cornish Language.

The Centre is open (by appointment) for help with anything from the simplest enquiry to a detailed research project. Young people are especially encouraged and we can visit schools to help with Cornish language and Cornish Studies projects.

There is an extensive library of books, archive material, slides, tapes, videos and teaching aids-some of which can be hired. The Centre also has a large range of books (including out-of-print and second-hand) and tapes for sale.

Activities at AN GRESENN GERNEWEK include residential Fun Schools for children, intensive Cornish language courses and study days. Visits from Celtic groups are welcome.

AN GRESENN receives no outside financial assistance. Thus its programme of events have to be self-financing. Sales of books, etc, bring in a modest income.

This organisation will continue to act as an information and resource centre for the Cornish Language as well as history, wildlife, etc. The Centre would like to further its work with various Cornish /Celtic groups.

The production of a concise, popular dictionary and course book in a standard, historically authentic spelling is our main priority. These are essential tools for learning and teaching and work on both projects is well advanced.

The longer term aims of the organisation are:

- 1) to increase the number of free classes held and train volunteer teachers.
- 2) To introduce children to the language, ideally with the co-operation of Cornwall Education Authority and a recognised examination board.
- 3) To make further books and tapes available to the public.
- 4) To continue research into the historical language and extend this to cover medieval Cornish.
- 5) To make historical texts available to the public in their original orthography.

## EUROPEAN BUREAU FOR LESSER USED LANGUAGES

The 'web-of-words' site (<http://www.eblul.org/wow/>) presents about forty languages, so called 'regional or minority languages', which are spoken in the European Union (including Cornish).

Russian is one of the minority languages of the European Union. Judeo-Spanish today spoken by numerous European Jews, is very similar to the Spanish spoken in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

*'It is one of the goals of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, to call the attention of every European citizen on the diversity and richness of all languages spoken in the European Union',* explains Markus Warasin, the Bureau's Secretary General. 'This web site has been voluntarily created to answer questions asked by the public about the European language reality, often very different from one Member-State to another.'

The site describes in a simple in a simple way the situation of each minority language of the European Union, its status, its history and the reality of its use.

But 'a language is also about its sound and its accents. Therefore, it seemed extremely important to us, to complete the presentation, by adding poems read by native speakers', says Julia Turkina, in charge of the documentation for 'web-of-words'.

## CORNISH SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE UK BUREAU FOR LESSER-USED LANGUAGES.

This body reports to the UK Committee of the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages. The sub-committee was set up in 1995, and its 20 or so members represent all branches of the language movement, together with other organisations having an interest in the language such as the County and District Councils, the GORSETH and Old Cornwall Movements. Prior to the inception of the Sub-Committee, the UK Committee had supported the applications for EU grant funding from DGXXII for the publication of Ken George's dictionary and Wella Brown's grammar (£3,000 each). The Sub-Committee is an important institution as it provides a forum for all aspects of the language movement and is one of the very few institutions to do so.

## Cultural organizations featuring the Cornish Language

### ESETHVOS KERNOW: THE EISTEDDFOD OF CORNWALL

This is a triennial festival of Cornish language literature, music and culture. Formed on a similar basis to the Welsh EISTEDDFOD, it is held in various centres throughout Cornwall and involves many Cornish organisations across and beyond the language scene.

### THE CELTIC CONGRESS

This longstanding organisation, whose roots go back to the early days of the language revival, is represented by a Cornish Branch. The annual congress of the whole organisation was to meet in Bude in April 2000.

### CELTIC FILM AND TELEVISION FESTIVAL

This organisation was formed in Scotland in the late 1970s. It is still headquartered there, although it has active branches in each of the Celtic countries. It has greatly stimulated the production of Cornish-language films and video. The 18<sup>th</sup> annual festival was held in Cornwall for the first time in 1997. The GOLDEN TORC AWARD WAS WON BY A Cornish-language production: SPLATT DHE WERTHA (PLOT FOR SALE) WHICH WAS PRODUCED BY wild west films. These efforts have been assisted by EU DGXXII, west Cornwall Film Fund and Lottery sources. Video and Film production has been stimulated by these activities, and there are two other organisations involved in Cornish language film production: A 38 films and WestCounty Films.

### LOWENDER PERAN: The Joy of Perran.

This now week long festival at Perranporth has been organised since 1978. Strongly featuring Cornish language and traditional culture it also has a strongly international dimension. Cornish is used as a platform language at all events and there is a Cornish language day. Four out of its six directors are Cornish speakers. The events include visiting performers and groups from the other Celtic countries.

The festival is a showcase for Cornish traditional music and dance, and a major opportunity for Cornish speakers to get together socially and culturally. Organised around it is voluntarily work in schools, and the festival has led to the production of a Cornish dance video and book.

It attracts about 3,000 visitors and is viewed as an important means of extending the tourist season in Perranporth into mid-October.

The organisation is constituted as a limited company with charitable status. It has attracted funding of approximately £2,000 in recent years (£200 from the parish council, £1,600 from Carrjok District and £250 from Cornwall County Council).



## CORNISH MUSIC PROJECTS

This is a small business partnership which has operated since 1998 on a commercial basis. It is involved with Cornish language and music activities in schools, networking with other organisations to promote music workshops and performance events. These activities are supported by a research programme into Cornish traditional music material, and the production of books and recordings. The organisation has obtained grants from a range of sources (e.g. from Directory of Social change) and has received funding from the County Council, Regional Arts Lottery Fund (with Cornish Music Guild) and the Elm Grant Trust. The two partners are involved in other performing groups and bands.

## FEDERATION OF OLD CORNWALL SOCIETIES

This movement was founded by Robert Morton Nance between 1922-24, and still has active branches throughout Cornwall, and a regular journal, 'OLD CORNWALL'.

## VERBAL ARTS CORNWALL- AWEN (Inspiration)

This was formed in 1993. It is active in support for Cornish language and dialect in schools; and in wider community activities at Cornish language events, writing projects, theatre events, poetry and verse. It has developed active links with the Cornish diaspora and other Celtic countries. Assisted by South West Arts, it aims to become a self-financing business.

## CORNISH DANCE SOCIETY

This was formed in the 1990s to promote Cornish dance and customs, organises events and workshops, publishes a newsletter and hires costume. It acts as an umbrella organisation for Cornish dance sides- which include those with a Cornish-language persona (e.g. Asteveryn, Otta ny Moaz, Ta ha Dowr). Although not specifically a language organisation, it nevertheless supports the language and culture in various ways.

## CORNISH MUSIC GUILD

As a parallel to the Dance Society, the Music Guild has an important co-ordinating function and supports various traditional music groups which have a more specifically language-oriented performance policy (e.g. Dalla, Sowena, Bolingey Troyl Band etc). Formed in 1987, it has charitable status and operates on an annual budget of approximately £2,000. It aims to promote Cornish music and composers and a greater use of Cornish material- specifically in Cornish music and dance. Cornish language has been used for calling at traditional dance and Cornish language events.

## DEHWELANS. Festival of Cornwall.

A celebration of everything Cornish. Set in Newquay, a coastal resort. You can experience a showcase of Cornish arts, music, culture, heritage, mining, literature, drama, dance, family history and maritime connections.



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## ORGANISATIONS IN POLITICAL AND PUBLIC LIFE

The campaign for a Cornish Assembly took its demand to the heart of Government last December 2003, by handing in a petition declaration, signed by over 50,000 people, to 10 Downing Street, London.

The petition campaign was launched on St Pirans Day (March 5<sup>th</sup> 2002,) by Mebyon Kernow, the Party of Cornwall (MK), but was later presented to the Cornish Constitutional Convention /Senedh Kernow in order to take the campaign forward.

Dick Cole, Party leader of MK and Vice-Chair of the Convention, said, 'More than 50,000 people have signed declarations calling for a Cornish Assembly. Tony Blair has made it clear that he supports the devolution to areas where there is popular support. That popular support for a Cornish Assembly has been demonstrated and we call on the Prime Minister to bring forward the necessary legislation to put the matter to the people of Cornwall in a referendum' (Cole 23: 2002).

Campaigners argue that Cornwall's culture, language geography and Objective One status give it a unique claim to be considered a region in its own right, despite its small size. It is also believed that regional movement will give stronger leadership to Cornwall's Objective One programme and give the nation a stronger voice in arguing for a fairer deal at an international level.

### MEBYON KERNOW

This organisation was formed as a political lobby for Cornwall in 1951. It attracted support from across the political spectrum and beyond. Most of Cornwall's MPs were members. When it became a political party it lost these affiliations. It has always given a place to the language in its programmes, as it was originally formed by language bards and others prominent in the language movement. It has a quarterly magazine and branches throughout Cornwall.

Mebyon Kernow- The Party for Cornwall is perhaps not well-known in Brittany. MK has always worked for a Cornish University and a Cornish Assembly (Senedh Kernow). These demands seemed at that time merely dreams, but with the example of devolved government in Scotland and Wales, it now seems that awareness for a Cornish Assembly has increased among Cornish people.

Mebyon Kernow, often MK (Cornish for Sons of Cornwall) is a political party dedicated to re-establishing a degree of autonomy in Cornwall, located at the western end of the south-west peninsula of Great Britain, currently administered as the south-westermost county of England.

It was founded on January 6, 1951 at a meeting held in Redruth. Helena Charles was elected the party's first chair. The original aims of the MK were primarily socio-cultural and specifically, at their first meeting they adopted the following programme:

- 1- To study local conditions and attempt to remedy any that may be prejudicial to the best interests of Cornwall by the creation of public opinion or other means.
- 2- To foster the Cornish language and literature.
- 3- To encourage the study of Cornish history from a Cornish point of view.
- 4- By self knowledge to further the acceptance of the idea of the Celtic character of Cornwall, one of the six Celtic nations.
- 5- To publish pamphlets, broadsheets, articles and letters in the Press whenever possible, putting forward the foregoing aims.
- 6- To arrange concerts and entertainments with a Cornish-Celtic flavour through which these aims can be further advanced.
- 7- To cooperate with all societies concerned with preserving the character of Cornwall.

They currently describe their philosophy as based on being Cornish, Green, Left of Centre, Decentralist.

They won their first seat at local level on the Redruth-Camborne Urban Council in 1953. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s Mebyon Kernow were in essence a pressure group, with members being able to join other political parties as well.

Mebyon Kernow continue to contest parliamentary seats, with little electoral success, and also local government seats, with a good degree more success. In the 2001 general election, MK polled 3,199 votes, or 1.3% of the Cornish vote (up from 0.7% in 1997)

They believe that sovereignty resides with people, and that responsibility for decision-making should be retained at the most local level possible.

The enormous cultural diversity of Europe is a strength which must be guard, enhanced and harnessed through a constitutional recognition of its historic cultural and social regions such as Cornwall.

#### CUSSELL AN TAVAZ CORNOACK. Cornish Language Council.

The Cornish language Council concerns itself with research into the historic language with emphasis on the Modern/Late period and oral tradition. Its policy is to promote the historical orthography, pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar of that period as found. To this end the Council has published the results of its research and learning/teaching materials are cost-price. Free evening classes and a free correspondence course are also available. This is the authority for the late or Modern Cornish Language.

Major publications are: A Students Grammar of Modern Cornish, R.R.M. Gendall. The first comprehensive exposition of 17<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century Cornish: 1991.

A Students Dictionary of Modern Cornish, R.R. M. Gendall. A source dictionary of 17<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century Cornish supplement by words that survived into western Cornish speech of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Other recent publications include:

The Pronunciation of Cornish and COWZ EN EUALL (a course with tapes). R.R. M. Gendall.

The Cornish language Council has helped university students in Aberystwyth and London. One such student studied the phonology of Cornish. Gavin Moffa, a member of The Council, has carried out a study of Edward Lhuyd's investigation of Cornish circa 1700.

A chronic lack of funding has meant that enthusiasts have had to fund the work entirely from their own pockets.

The council has five members representing language specialists, teachers and users.

It has recently (1999) been assisted by a grant from the County Council's language-fund for the production of a language course.

The Council has an arts officer who is a Cornish speaker and who undertakes a co-ordinating function for the Cornish language. She maintains an information source on Cornish language organisations. The Council has recently adopted a framework policy of support for the language and it has circulated all the District Councils seeking its joint adoption. This has been forthcoming for Carrick, Kerrier, Penwith and North Cornwall Councils, although Caradon and Isles of Scilly have not yet followed suit.

## DISTRICT COUNCILS

The four councils that have adopted the County framework policy for Cornish language will be invited to send representatives to the Cornish sub-committee of the European Bureau. Two ( Penwith and Carrick) have produced supportive action for Cornish signage. Although it has not yet ratified the County policy, Caradon has funded a Cornish language class for its employees, while Carrick has produced a newsletter in Cornish.

## CORNISH BUREAU FOR EUROPEAN REALTIONS (Cober)

COBER exists to make available to Cornish organisations information relating to Europe. It has been involved in a variety of initiatives including the designation of long-distance paths and way marking, with European assistance (e.g. THE SAINT'S WY9. IT HAS A Cornish language profile and is represented on the Cornish sub-committee of EBLUL.

## ORGANISATIONS USING CORNISH IN COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA

### ❖ CORNISH LANGUAGE FILMS:

As noted above these are chiefly represented by Wild West Films, A38 Films and West Country Film. The first of these has been assisted with funding from European sources, West Cornwall Film Fund and Lottery Sources. In recent years it has produced four specifically Cornish language productions and another which also features the language.

## ❖ RADIO

Cornish language has been used in broadcasting by two stations in Cornwall: BBC Radio Cornwall and Pirate FM. Radio Cornwall currently carries a short Cornish language magazine programme and news in Cornish on Sundays.

## ORGANISATIONS PROMOTING CORNISH IN ENTERPRISE

## AN LYVERJI KERNEWEK: THE CORNISH BOOKSHOP

Located in Helston, this was established in 1997. Start-up capital was a combination of a small-business loan, mortgage, and overdraft facility. It is now virtually financially self-supporting. There are facilities for workshops, publishing and meetings on the premises. The enterprise holds the bookstock of The Cornish Language Board and Kowethas. It retails these together with Cornish interest books and promotional material.

## GWYNN HA DU: WHITE AND BLACK

This shop is located in Liskeard. It aims to promote Cornish language, show Cornish books to the public and act as a focus and shop-window for the language. Its start-up capital was very small (chiefly donated as gifts) and it relied initially on voluntary work in its initial phase since 1998. It now has a full-time manager and New Deal funding. All accounts and records are kept in Cornish and telephones answered in the language.

The initiative has been developed through Kowethas an Yeth.

## JUST CORNISH

This is a one person- enterprise, located on one of St. Just's main streets. It sells Cornish language and language interest books in English, together with crafts with a specifically 'all made in Cornwall' sales policy. It was established in May 1999 with self-fund start-up capital.

## KERNOW DESIGNS

This one person enterprise supplies the three Cornish bookshops and others with Cornish language materials.



## ORGANISATIONS PROMOTING AND USING CORNISH IN RELIGIOUS LIFE

### BISHOP OF TRURO'S ECUMENICAL ADVISORY GROUP ON SERVICES IN CORNISH

This body was set up in 1974. Although Anglican initiative, Methodist and Catholic interest are specifically included as the chief denominations providing worship in Cornish. It has a very slender working budget. There are now at least eleven formally-organised services in Cornish held annually- with other services such as Carol and Harvest Services. It has also been involved in the development of Catholic liturgy.

### BREDERETH SEN JAGO: THE BROTHERHOOD OF SAINT JAMES

This fellowship was established in 1988 and is principally concerned with organising pilgrimages on an open denominational basis. Its aims and activities encompass concern with Cornish history, saints and placenames and its membership includes speakers and teachers of the language. Its finances are minimal.



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## 23- Funding Sources

Funding awarded to Cornish Language Groups. (From An Independent Academic Study on Cornish pp 39-43)

It appears that there has been little history of funding activity over the last twenty years. The Study indicates that this probably reflects the generally small scale nature of these organisations over this time.

One of the main sources of funding has been the local authorities. Of those organisations that disclosed the amount of funding awarded, just over half received £1,000 or over, with the funding mainly ranging between £1,000 and £3,000. Just under half of successful applicants received under £1,000.

Over these last years, there has been a general move towards helping organisations involved in the promotion and development of the Cornish Language and assistance to these groups appearing to be growing. In the current financial year, Cornwall County Council has allocated £5,000 to Cornish language organisations, primarily for assistance towards publications.

Cornish organisations involved in the promotion or development of the language received assistance primarily as, say, community-based organisations.

During the 1990s, the European Commission operated a number of cultural programmes designed to: improve the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of the European peoples, conserve and safeguard cultural heritage of European significance; and support cultural exchanges and artistic and literary creation. It is often the case that in order to access funding, projects assisted require the involvement of partnerships between organisations from two or three Member States.

The European Social Fund is the European Union's financial instrument for investing in people. Its objectives are: to help prevent and fight unemployment, to make Europe's workforce and companies better-equipped to face new challenges; and to prevent people losing touch with the labour market.

In addition, a programme has been developed called Culture 2000k, which has been designed to replace some of the cultural programmes operated by the European Commission during 1990s. It will operate from 2000 to 2004, and has a total budget of 167 million ECU over its five years of operation.

## THE SOUTH AUSTRALIA ASSOCIATION

Since the visit of Denis Trevanion, a former Grand bard, to their biennial LOWENDER 1983, a group of members have been having classes under the leadership of Ron Daw who began with them but who forged ahead and passed the first grade exam in 1984 and then the second grade in 1985. He, the Grand Bard and Stephen Amos from Melbourne all made speeches in Cornish at the LOWENDER in 1985. This is probably the first time ever that speeches have been made in Cornish outside Cornwall and the Celtic countries. There are classes all over Adelaide as well as study groups in Melbourne and Sydney.

## BENDIGO CORNISH ASSOCIATION

Since the re-establishment of the Cornish Gorsedd in 1928 by Henry Jenner, more than 1,000 bards have been honoured worldwide.

Among those are George and Edna Ellis, from Bendigo, who are made bards for promoting Cornish culture in Australia.

In the early days of the Gold Rush one in four Bendigo families were headed by a Cornishman. The Cornish dialect survived and identified many Bendigo descendants of Cornwall until about the 1950s.

#### CORNISH ASSOCIATION OF QUEENSLAND

(from a letter sent to the author on 30/8/01 by Nigel Gregory President).

The Cornish in Australia, of all ages and even though their ancestors may have originated from Cornwall up to 200 years ago, similarly retain a strong sense of their ethnic identity and origin.

*'I don't think individuals lose their identity. We have young kids here in Brisbane, up to third-or-fourth-generation Cornish descended, and they are quite clear that their ethnic origin is Cornish. However, in general, they do not have any wish to learn the Cornish language, although when they learn phrases or a few words, they feel pleased.'*

(The following are all associations in Australia based on Cornish:

CORNISH ASSOCIATION OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA  
CORNISH ASSOCIATION OF VICTORIA INC.  
CORNISH ASSOCIATION OF ACT.

#### FEDERATION OF AUSTRALIA

The Federation was formed at a meeting in Castlemaine, Victoria in 1986, following a suggestion made by 'DEN TOLL', the then Grand bard of Cornwall, Mr. Hugh Miners, at the Kernewek Lowender in Wallaroo (1985) that the three Cornish groups in Australia at the Lowendeer should get together more formally. A friendly meeting in a motel room sealed the idea.

The Founding Associations were SOUTH AUSTRALIA (formed in 1890, SYDNEY (now NSW) formed in 1975, and Victoria (formed 1986). Since then some other very active Cornish Associations, i.e. Western Australia (formed 1974), Bendigo and District, and the BALLARAT Branch of CAU also become members.

The Australian Capital Territory was set up in Queensland in 1995. The Cornish Association of Victoria Inc withdrew active membership in June 1996, and Queensland in 1998. However they (like all Cornish Associations and Societies around

the world) keep active friendly and close links with cousin Associations. Indeed Cousin Jacks and Jennies around the world have a warm family bond.

The aims of the Federation when founded were (among others):

- ❖ To encourage Australians, especially those of Cornish birth or descent to understand and cherish the Cornish heritage.
- ❖ To assist and promote the preservation and study of the Cornish heritage in Australia, family history research; the study and use of the Cornish language: the study of Cornish history, culture, arts, antiques, and customs.
- ❖ To encourage and provide a channel for interaction with appropriate groups in Cornwall and elsewhere.
- ❖ To promote fellowship and to foster goodwill among people interested in Cornwall and things Cornish.
- ❖ To promote contacts between descendants of the Cornish pioneers and other Cornish-Australians and their 'cousins' in Cornwall elsewhere.

Perhaps 2-3% of Australia's population have significant Cornish ancestry according to Dr. Charles prince, an eminent demographer from the Australian National University in Canberra.

In the boon times of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, Cornwall supplied an industrialising world with the vital minerals such as copper and tin, and sent tens of thousands of its sons and daughters to the far corners of the world with their expert mining and engineering skills.

The descendants of these people probably number nearly 2 million in places such as North America, Australia, New Zealand, and many others. Cornish innovation was renowned and men like Richard Trevithick (inventor of the steam locomotive) reflected their kinfolk's energy. The saying that 'at the bottom of every hole you'll find a Cornishman' was not far wrong. Men and women their value to Australia has been enormous.

The Cornish became significant in the colony of New South Wales, from the 'first farmer', James Ruse from Launceston in Cornwall, to governors King and Bligh (of Mutiny on The Bounty Fame).

In the 1820s Cornish farmers settled lands around Byngwest of Bathurst, and in Tasmania.

The Cornish founded the Cornish Association of South Australia in 1890 but, the Cornish have also continued to come during the post World War II period and formed Association in WA in 1974 and NSW in 1975. New associations have also been formed by people of Cornish descent and birth in a wide range of places, i.e. Bendigo, the ACT; Queensland, Ballart, and Geelong.

## THE CORNISH ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA

It was formed originally in 1890. Since the first meetings over 107 years ago we have come a long way but our aims continue to be important in South Australia. This state has a lot of people with Cornish ancestry and a fine Cornish heritage in many forms.

### Aims (among others)

- Foster the establishment and maintenance of the fellowship of all those who have a connection with, or concern for, Cornwall.
- Encourage an appreciation and knowledge of the heritage of Cornwall and of the Cornish in South Australia.
- Keep alive Cornish customs and traditions.

## CORNISH STUDIES-L NETWORK

It was created in 1995. It was started by Dr. Matthew Spriggs of the Australian National University in Canberra.

Cornish Studies-L was established to provide a communication forum and central electronic archive for anyone working on or interested in Cornish studies. It also deals with Cornwall's relations with the rest of Europe, especially neighbouring regions such as Brittany and Wales.

## CALIFORNIA CORNISH COUSINS

It was launched in 1992 by Sam Dale, whose father was born in Penzance but emigrated in 1928 to work for the Home Colonial Stores.

These Cousin Jacks and Jennies intend to stimulate interest in Cornish culture and to share family history and genealogy.

They get together at annual gatherings, receive quarterly newsletters and basically revel in all things Cornish.

Their motto-'A world apart, but close at heart'- pretty much sums up this dedicated bunch of Kernowphiles.

## LONDON CORNISH ASSOCIATION (L.C.A.)

It is the main ex-pats Cornish group to which all Cornish Associations, at home and abroad, are affiliated.

Patron: Her Majesty the Queen.

Vice- Patron: HRM The Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall.

President: Sir John Trelawny.

The London Cornish Association was founded in 1898 although there had been an annual dinner organised some years before.

The association publishes throughout the year COWETHAS KERNEWEK LOUNDRES or the London Cornish Association Newsletter or Cornish Worldwide. The Newsletter gives news from Cornwall, information of forthcoming events both in Cornwall and the Capital, books reviews along with snippets of information, mainly Cornish.

## GLOUCESTER AND DISTRICT CORNISH ASSOCIATION, TUNBRIDGE WELLS (AND DISTRICT). CORNISH ASSOCIATION.

The Association was formed some 25 years ago and has a small but enthusiastic membership, meeting monthly with an ongoing programme of traditional Cornish activities and similar enjoyable pastimes

## MIDLANDS CORNISH ASSOCIATION

The 50<sup>th</sup> annual meeting was held on May 14 2000, at Holy Trinity Church Hall in Liskeard.

## COLORADO CORNISH COUSINS

They are dedicated to making the outside world (specially Colorado) aware of the Cornish nation and what historical places were held in their state and the world in general.

## OKAGAN CORNISH COUSINS (it belongs to BRITISH COLUMBIA)

ARIZONA CORNISH SOCIETY: a group of enthusiastic cousin Jacks in the heart of Arizona copper country.

## CALIFORNIA CORNISH COUSINS

It was launched in 1992 by Sam Dale, whose father was born in Penzance but emigrated in 1928 to work for The Home Colonial Stores.

## CORNISH ASSOCIATION OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

Established in 1975 by Cornish immigrants.



### TOMBSTONE: Cornish connections.

The city of Tombstone, Arizona, where the infamous gunfight at the OK Corral took place in 1881, is preparing to renew its considerable connections with Cornwall.

### THE SOCIETY OF CORNISHES

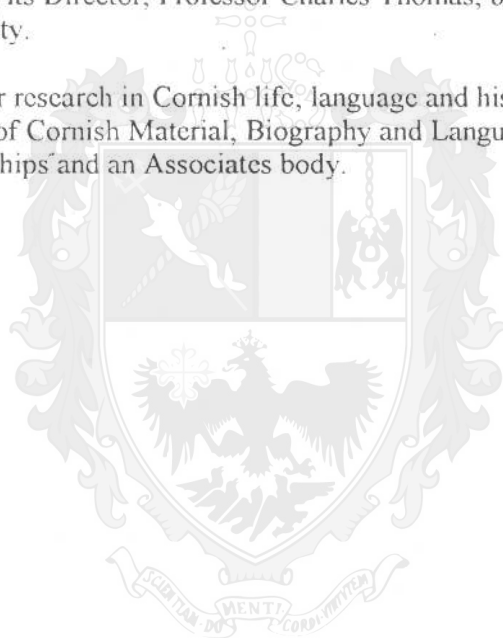
It was founded in November 1991 to share the collection of Cornish genealogical data with others interested in researching the surname of Cornish.

There are now about 100 members worldwide.

### THE INSTITUTE OF CORNISH STUDIES

It is located in Trevenson House, near Redruth, and it is maintained by the Cornish Council and Exeter University; its Director, Professor Charles Thomas, being also Professor of Cornish Studies at the University.

It provides a basis for research in Cornish life, language and history, maintains the Biological Index, the Register of Cornish Material, Biography and Language Literature archives, supported by Fellowships and an Associates body.



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## 24- Useful addresses

AGAN TAVAS. Tel. 0209 842 394

Mr. Ray Chubb  
Chairman,  
Gordon Villa,  
Sunnyvale Road,  
Portreath, Redruth, Kernow.

AN GRESENN GERNEWEK. Tel. 0872 864 157

Dr. Loveday Jenkin,  
Tregarne,  
Cusgarne, Truro. Kernow.

COSSELL AN TAVAZ CORNOACK. Tel. 0579 43366.

Mr. Richard Gendall,  
Chairman,  
Treggrill Vean,  
Menheniot, Liskeard,  
Kernow.

DALLETH. Tel 0872 864 157.

Dr. Loveday Jenkin,  
Chairperson,  
Tregarne,  
Cusgarne,  
Truro,  
Kernow.

Tel. 0209 842 394  
Mrs. Denise Chubb,  
Secretary,  
Gordon Villa,  
Sunnyvale Road,  
Portreath,  
Redruth. Kernow.

TESVA AN TAVES KERNEWEK

Mr. Graham Sandercock,  
Chairman, Trewynn,  
Lodge Hill, Liskeard, Kernow.  
Tel. 0579 451 52.

Mr. Wella Brown  
Secretary,

Chi an Gell,  
Saltash, Kernow.

Tel. 0752 842 273.

AN BALORES

P.O.Box 391804  
Cambridge. MA.  
021390018. USA.

KOWETHAS AN YETH KERNEWEK

Mr. Graham Sandercock,  
Chairman,  
Trewynn,  
Lodge Hill,  
Liskeard,  
Kernow.  
Tel. 0579 451 52

Ms Jane Ninnis,  
Secretary  
An Fol-ji,  
2 Railway Terrace,  
Grampound Road,  
Truro, Kernow.  
Tel. 0726 882 681

(This Institution , The Cornish Language Fellowship has another address: Truro- Kernow. TR2 4DR. Breten Veur. Great Britain.)

# TRO TEERE HA TAVAZ

Mr. Neil Kennedy,

Tregenza Vean,

Antron Hill, Mabe, Penryn, Kernow. TR 10 9HH.

Tel. 0326 75362.

also Tregrill Vean  
Antron Hill.

## CORNISH ASSOCIATION OF QUEENSLAND

P.O. Box 1627,  
Sunnybank Hills,  
Qld, Australia 4109.

## UNVERTETH KERNEWEK. CORNISH SOLIDARITY

70, Albany Rd, Redruth, Cornwall. G.B. TR 15 2 HY

## THE INSTITUTE OF CORNISH STUDIES

Hayne Corfe Centre.

Sunningdale. Truro. TR1. 3ND.

## AN GARRACK

Treganza Vean.

Antron Hill.

Mabe. Penryn. TR 10. BHH.

## AGAN TAVAS

Hilary Shaw

Old Kiln

Porth Navas.

Falmouth

Cornwall/Kernow, UK.

## AGAN TAVAS MEMBERSHIP

Gordon Villa

Sunnyval RD.

Portreath,

Redruth

TR 16 4NE. Kernow.

Post: CLAS, O.O. Box 39, Penzance, Kernow/Cornwall.

## DEHWELANS

Unit 5, Seton Business Centre.

Scorrier, Redruth

Cornwall, UK. Tr16 5 AW

## MEBYON KERNOW THE PARTY FOR CORNWALL.

Lanhainsworth. Bre Frodan/Fraddon Hill.

Frodan/Fraddon.

Sen Kolomm/St Colomb.

Kernow/Cornwall. TR9 GPQ

## 25- Cornish websites

CALESPULGH. CREFTE KELTEK HA DYSCANS.

[Http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Ithaca/9219](http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Ithaca/9219)

DUNKERLEY'S CORNISH AND CELTIC LINKS

<http://www.ozemail.com.au/~kevrenor/dunkchtm>

KRESENN AN YETH KERNEWEK. THE CORNISH LANGUAGE CENTRE  
(Dewi Annear)

<http://homepages.newnet.co.uk/lindamarriot/kernevek/cornish.html>.

CORNISH LANGUAGE ADVISORY SERVICE (CLAS).

<http://www.clas.demon.co.uk>.

THE CORNISH MEDIA ARCHIVE.

<http://www.liv.ac.uk/~enasjon/cornish>.

INSTITUTE OF CORNISH STUDIES

<http://www.info.ex.ac.uk/~cnfrench/ics>.

EUROPEAN BUREAU FOR LESSER USED LANGUAGES.

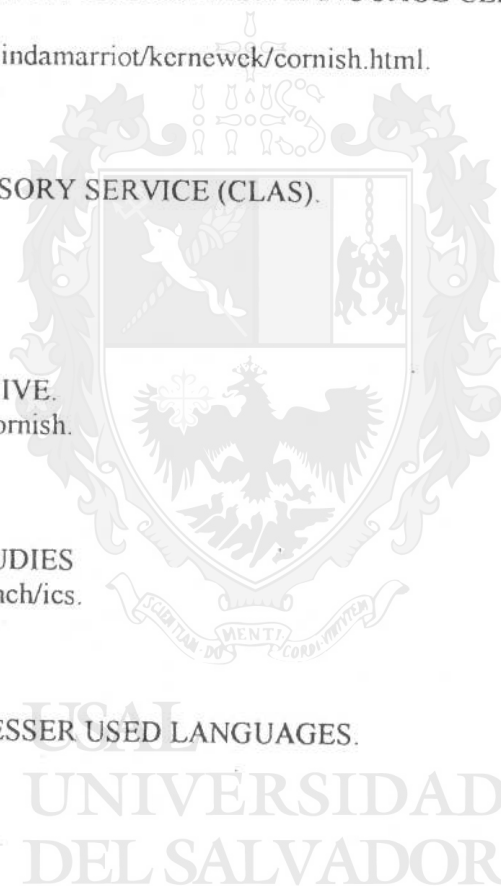
<http://www.eblul.org./wow/>

CORNISH STUDIES NETWORK.

<http://www.artalpa.anu.edu.au/web/arc/resources/papers/cornish/cornishstuds-L.htm>.

THE SOCIETY OF CORNISHES

<http://www.cornish@mail.zynct.co.uk>.



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CLAS

[Andrew@clas.demon.co.uk](mailto:Andrew@clas.demon.co.uk).

CORNISH LANGUAGE MAGAZINE

<http://www.cornishlanguage-magazine.co.uk>.

DEHWELANS

<http://www.dehwelans.com>.

MEBYON KERNOW

<http://www.mebyon-kernow.eu.org/>.



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## 26- Summary and conclusions

Cornwall is a historic nation and a unique European region, but at present Cornwall does not possess the tools it needs to empower its communities and people, to enable them to take their proper place in the struggle to build a Europe committed to cultural diversity and environmental sustainability.

Cornwall continues to have a dependent economy. They are still over-reliant on tourism. Their unemployment remains chronically higher than elsewhere, their wages have fallen steadily further behind the UK average, and yet at the same time they are being asked to pay an unacceptable price in the environmental degradation associated with unsustainable population growth. Cornwall is already widely recognised, especially in Europe, as a region of its own with its own history and cultural traditions. The economic region must be based on the cultural region, and this requires political institutions that reflect Cornwall's regional status and its history. It requires regional institutions for Cornwall.

When the issue of ethnic monitoring was raised during a recent county council executive members meeting, some councillors uttered prejudicial comments which, in the confines of the meeting, remained unanswered. These ranged from, 'why should Cornish people be treated differently', to, 'what makes a Cornish person?'. It is hoped that by briefly examining how UK identities are measured, these concerns might to some extent be allayed.

In order to overcome what is in effect an obstacle to general acceptance of the reality of differences between long-established UK groups, courts have had to interpret existing legislation in a more flexible way. To this end courts have been steered into focussing on the ethnic and national origins aspect of the Race legislation Act 1976 (While the status of the English, Scots and Welsh might have been secured via recognition on grounds of their national origins).

When these groups were finally accorded official status in 1977, it was suggested that the Cornish might also satisfy the given criteria. But is this the case?

What do a twelve-year-old girl from Utah, a black street busker from Penzance, a farmer from Western Australia, the owner of Canada's largest brewery and the Grand Bard of the Gorsedd all have in common?

They are all proud to be Cornish.

A panel of MPs, county councillors, bards, Cornish people (home and overseas) as well as Cornish academics and campaigners were asked that very question and all the answers revealed different notions on the issue of Cornish identity.

Cornish people all over the world celebrate their identity in many ways.

The question of *Cornishness* has tempted academics and the media over the centuries in a way that someone might try to define the properties of a newly discovered natural element or state of being. Some say the very fact they have an adjective such as Cornish is enough to prove that the Cornish exist.



Cornwall is one of the four nations of Britain. As late as 1856 the Duchy of Cornwall was busy asserting its rights by claiming that Cornwall had never been part of England. That is the fact that reveals a different identity.

However, the fact that Cornish people have always been delineated as such serves both as recognition of this distinct background and an affirmation of separate identity.

Some devotees of Cornish identity point to their Celtic roots. The criterion for a Celtic identity is a linguistic one-to be a Celtic country, that country has to have a Celtic language-now with European status. This makes Cornwall a Celtic nation and if you are 'of Cornwall' in any way then you are Celtic as well as Cornish. However your language is not the 'be all and end all' of Celtic identity. Language (by itself) does not define a culture. If it did, Cornwall would be more English than Celtic-and so would Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man. If a tribe of South American Indians adopted Welsh learned from the emigrants to Patagonia-would they be Celtic?

As we have seen, UK identities are generally given official recognition via courts applying the 1976 Race Relations Act. The Act itself uses terms like 'national' and /or 'ethnic origins'. The term 'ethnic origins' was defined in a 1983 House of Lords appeal ruling by Lord Fraser who said that for a group to constitute an ethnic group for the purposes of the 1976 Race Relations Act it must regard itself, and be regarded by the others, as a distinct community by virtue of certain characteristics. He said that it is essential that the group have a long shared history, which they consciously remember, and a cultural tradition of its own. He added that a common geographical origin, a different language, a unique literature, a different religion and a feeling of being oppressed could be relevant. Objective analysis would reveal that the Cornish meet these criteria for recognition.

So it is not simply a matter of classifying all those born in Cornwall as Cornish and all those born in England as English. Furthermore, because it is possible to acquire another nationality by adoption, naturalisation or marriage, to delimit identity by place of birth is plainly absurd. In the light of the Fraser ruling, birthplace is also irrelevant, for membership of an ethnic group is subjectively meaningful to the individual. Therefore, 'being Cornish' means expressing yourself as such. We now see that far from being an exclusive doctrine, the celebration of *Cornishness* is wholly inclusive.

But simply 'being Cornish' means 'being of Cornwall'.

Some say Cornwall is simply a county of England run by County Council.. Some say Cornwall is a Duchy with a Duke, a Lord High Warden of the Stannaries and a Stannary Parliament (of which the Duke is the Head of State). Others say Cornwall is a Celtic nation with her own language, national flag and Gorsedd (college of bards like Wales and Brittany.)

At the very simplest level, everyone who lives in Cornwall should be considered a citizen of Cornwall, and live with the people of Cornwall without prejudice.

Does this mean that everyone who lives in Cornwall is Cornish?. In states and countries with political legislatures where citizenship is enshrined with law, then people will choose to take on that citizenship.

For example, if a Cornishman chooses to move to Australia and become an Australian citizen, then he is first and foremost an Australian with strong Cornish roots.

The way that the everyday practices of individuals and groups are coordinated so as to produce, perpetuate, and delimit what people can think, do and be. Power is not a fixed entity or institution, but it is incarnated in historical social practices. It is a complex strategy in a particular society. This strategy arises from specific groups opposing one another. Power frames a reality.

This is essential to any society. For the Middle Ages, to be in being meant to belong to a specific rank of order of what has been created, to belong to a group.

Cultural identity is a very different matter. As well as the citizenship identification, sociologists recognise that people maintain multiple cultural identities.

In other words, and a favourite saying from West Cornwall: 'Just because you are born in an oven, it don't make you a pasty'.

If modern Cornwall is going to be a pluralist and forward-looking society, then we have to be more accepting of people having multiple cultural identities, equally using the citizenship view if people identify themselves as Cornish, then that should be their main identity. While many people in Cornwall are scared of Cornwall's cultural identity being swamped by our larger neighbour, others stand up for their culture and capitalise on the principle of self-identification. In this way all the people of Cornwall-ancient families, new-comers and exiles-might be encouraged to associate themselves with being Cornish and join in the celebration.

Cornish culture is not going to disappear after 1,000 years of attacks and repression. The challenge is to stand up and make it stronger for the future so all the people of Cornwall-home and away-can be proud of being Cornish.

Energies should be channelled exclusively into 'being Cornish' by doing things which promote a 'Cornish Cornwall'. This would both enable the positive, and corporate, consolidation of a Cornish identity, for those that already regard themselves as Cornish and provide an environment that would facilitate the assimilation of an evolving population.

To 'be Cornish' you must be, 'of Cornwall' and that can be living here, being born here, speaking the language or having ancestors that hail from Cornwall. So if you live in Bodmin, were born in Redruth, are a Cornish speaking Australian or are an American with a great, great grandfather from St. Austell-then you are Cornish.

Languages are instruments of power and as such are imposed by the dominant group upon the minorities. The effect of such action is the shrinking or extinction of the vernacular spoken by the minority groups.

A blunt conclusion may be drawn indeed: the Cornish want to revive their language because they are Cornish.

At the present day Cornwall is legally and practically a county of England. But every Cornishman knows well enough that he is no more an Englishman than a Caithness man is, that he has as much right to be a separate local patriotism to his little Motherland. He is as much a Celt and as little of an 'Anglo-Saxon' as any Gael, Cymro, Manxman, or Breton.

The reason why a Cornishman should learn Cornish is the outward and audible sign of his separate nationality. Language and identity are very tied.

The very existence of the Cornish language enables the Cornish people to substantiate their continued claim for recognition as a distinct nation. There is no factor more powerful than that of language when it comes to making a claim for recognition as a distinct people. It transcends the matter both of history and of logic.

Having one's own language is in effect a passport to having a nationality.

Barring wholly unforeseen circumstances, the language is now safe for all time; never will the history of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries be repeated. Cornish will be learned and used as a living language for as long as there are Cornish men and women.

The task is now to spread it more widely amongst 'their' people. Many believe it is the preserve of the few.

There is still a long way to go. Much more work has to be done before there is the general acceptance of Kernowek they all want.

Many others and me firmly believe the time is rapidly approaching when changes will have to be made and I trust that new ways forward will be discussed, decided upon and implemented during the coming years.

The view that languages provide us with means of personal growth, as human beings, is a recurrent theme in literature, at various levels of intellectual profundity.

There are many reasons why people should revive their own language. There are some religious, some political, but this is the core reason. 'A man without a language of his own has no land'. The Cornish fiercely deny that they are English. They are Celtic, like the Welsh, and the Bretons in France they seek some form of independence for themselves and this can be better achieved when you have your own language.

Why then the recovery of a language? Because it represents a system of values and nothing is as powerful as language.

A person whose language is French is French, a person whose language is Welsh is Welsh, so to be recognised as being different they must have their language, Cornish.

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Susana N. Rodriguez.